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A JUST BAILOUT || MARGARET ATWOOD'S DYSTOPIAS

BRYCE COVERT

KATHERINE HILL

THE
Nation

How to Win in Wisconsin



Wisconsinites know
what it will take.
Will Democrats listen?
—
JOHN NICHOLS

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YOUNGE —Hosted by **Jon Wiener**



Making the Case

I agree with Elie Mystal on the capture of the Supreme Court by conservatives, a “full-scale heist... in broad daylight,” but I have a different perspective on the path to reform [“Re-Forming the Court,” March 16/23]. As a lawyer, I’m hesitant to ask for a big remedy until I’ve made my case, and we haven’t yet effectively made our case about the court’s capture to the American people.

Step one, educate people about the 80 (yes, 80) 5-4 partisan decisions that the Roberts Five have rendered that gave victories to big Republican donor interests. They may know the big four cases—*Citizens United*, *Shelby County*, *Friedrichs/Janus*, and *Heller*—but they don’t know the pattern. Five to four decisions should happen rarely, partisan 5-4 decisions more rarely still; 80 of them is a lot, and a score of 80-0 is hardly calling balls and strikes.

Step two, following Mystal’s observation about the need for ethics reform, start with a slate of reforms everyone can readily understand and accept. The court should have a code of ethics. Justices should disclose hospitality and travel as transparently as executive and legislative officials do. Advocacy groups litigating in the court or providing amicus briefs should disclose who’s funding them. Groups involved in selecting judges or spending money to campaign for their confirmation should disclose their donors. These obvious transparency reforms will clean up the mess and also demonstrate the extent of the problem and the need, perhaps, for more structural reform.

Right now, dark-money groups help select justices, campaign for their confirmation, present cases to them, flood the court as amici, and may well fund significant travel and hospitality—all without disclosing their own big

donors. That is a recipe for scandal and disgrace, and no court should be so mired in secret influence.

SENATOR SHELDON WHITEHOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Though I am totally blind and have not been sleeping well, thanks to the news about the coronavirus, I listened to *The Nation*’s March 16/23 issue. I downloaded it from the National Library Service’s website for blind people. I liked Mystal’s article exploring ways to fix the Supreme Court. Yes, the idea of 19 justices, who sit in panels rarely needing to resort to the *en banc* process and who are held to some kind of ethics, is lovely. An 18-year term limit might be good, too. If term limits are good enough for the president, they should be good enough for anyone else.

DAVID FAUCHEUX
LAFAYETTE, LA.

☞ Thank you for Mystal’s article addressing a critical issue that has often been overlooked. I appreciate the ideas expressed by thoughtful folks who are trying to address this problem. Each of the proposed solutions has drawbacks, but perhaps this will at least stimulate new ideas. It has certainly got me thinking. CR LAWN

Corrections

Because of an editing error, Sasha Abramsky’s article “California Fights Trump for Clean Air” [March 30] incorrectly stated the date of a judge’s decision ruling that litigation was premature against proposed EPA vehicle emission standards. The judge ruled in October 2019, not September 2019. The article also incorrectly stated the date that the Trump administration announced it was revoking a California waiver allowing the state to set stricter standards for vehicle emissions. It was in September 2019, not October 2019.

☞ Comments drawn from our website
letters@thenation.com

A Just Bailout

The bailouts are coming. As the coronavirus brings economic activity grinding to a halt, industries are flocking to the federal government with palms outstretched. An airline industry trade organization has already asked for nearly \$60 billion.

Those companies are likely to get something: President Trump has already

said, “We don’t want airlines going out of business.” Yet the last time we bailed them out, after 9/11, we handed the industry billions of dollars in loans and grants while requiring very little in return.

This time we have to demand concessions for our money. The companies that get taxpayer bailouts should be required to keep employees and contractors on their payrolls and leave union contracts and benefits intact. In the early 2000s, airlines laid off tens of thousands of workers, many of whom were never rehired. Now we can take a cue from the UK, where the conservative government is offering grants that would cover up to 80 percent of salaries to employers that avoid layoffs.

But that’s not all we should demand. Government help should come on the condition that airlines reform the way they operate. Contract airport workers deserve a minimum wage of at least \$15 an hour and benefits, like paid sick leave and affordable health care. And rather than let airlines increase customer fees

while shrinking seats and services even during boom times, we should impose caps on fees and demand better in-flight experiences. Once we get through this crisis, the airlines will almost certainly be able to afford it. They had nearly \$13 billion in operating revenue last year, but the major carriers spent 96 percent of their cash over the past decade on buying back their own stock. That enriched their shareholders but left little for investments in better service or employee treatment. We can’t just hope that the airlines will end stock buybacks in favor of investments; we have to bar them from handing all their cash to shareholders.

Other industries are also likely to receive government assistance. Hotels are reeling; one union official in the industry has predicted that 95 percent of his members could lose their jobs. But hotels must also keep employees on their payrolls if they get taxpayer funds—and hotel workers also deserve a \$15

minimum hourly wage, benefits, and humane schedules. Meanwhile, casinos and cruise lines are seeking their own pots of taxpayer money. All their laid-off workers should get financial assistance, without question. But as leisure industries, these companies are not indispensable to the functioning of the larger economy. Not all industries merit bailouts.

Public transportation, on the other hand, has barely been mentioned and yet is fundamental to the economy in many cities and states. Social distancing orders are, rightly, discouraging people from riding trains, buses, and subways. Ridership in New York City and New Jersey has already dropped by more than half. And beyond the loss of fares, transit agencies will also face the loss of state and local tax revenue. Unions representing transit workers have told Congress that public transportation systems need \$16 billion immediately to keep their operations running. The federal government must step in here.

Then there are the institutions that make a society what it is. Libraries could face local funding cuts, and museums are losing out on ticket sales. Small restaurants and mom-and-pop shops will struggle to reopen, given their razor-thin margins. The National Restaurant Association has estimated that the industry as a whole will lose as many as 7 million jobs. These local businesses and cultural institutions should all be included in a bailout package, even if they don’t have lobbying clout.

Instead of showering cash on politically connected companies—our president, of course, once owned casinos and still owns hotels—the federal government needs to seriously consider which industries are vital to the continued functioning of our economy. It may be in our national interest to bail out some massive previously profitable sectors. But that money shouldn’t come for free. **BRYCE COVERT FOR THE NATION**



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Cover illustration: Victor Juhasz



Korea Fights Covid-19

Testing, transparency, and national health care work.

BY THE NUMBERS

80%

Reduction since 2018 in the CDC's budget for combating global disease outbreaks

45

Days between China's first suspected Covid-19 case and its reporting to the World Health Organization

43

Days between the WHO's declaration of a public health emergency and the White House's declaration of a national emergency

7

Days between the UK's chief scientific adviser advocating a herd immunity approach and Prime Minister Boris Johnson closing social venues across the country

2

Days between President Trump's claim that the US had the coronavirus under "tremendous control" and his statement that he's "always known...this is a pandemic"

—Daniel Fernandez

On March 12, CNN ran a startling chyron after a congressional briefing on the rapid spread of Covid-19. "Health officials tell lawmakers only about 11,000 people tested for virus in U.S.; South Korea testing about 10K per day," it read, as the visibly shocked hosts pressed their guests for an explanation.

The actual figure is even higher. "South Korea has been on average testing 12,000 patients a day—about as many as the U.S. has managed to test over the last two weeks," the *Los Angeles Times* reported on March 14. By that time, the government of President Moon Jae-in had tested 261,335 people.

Many of the tests were conducted at sites where citizens could be served in their cars, a process that has been highly praised by residents. "The drive-through testing was quick, creative, innovative, free, and protective for all," said Brenda Paik Sunoo, an author and photographer with US and South Korean citizenship, speaking with *The Nation* in a telephone interview from the island of Jeju.

After the South Korean testing story aired on CNN, the country instantly became the hottest topic of the day. Americans glued to their televisions reeled in shock from the realization that the US government was woefully behind a nation that is often portrayed as owing its democracy and economic system—indeed, its very existence—to the beneficence of the United States.

"It is shameful, disappointing, & tragic that the greatest country in the world, the US, has only tested 14,000 people" in comparison with South Korea's huge numbers, Representative Maxine Waters tweeted.

The contrast was particularly shocking because health authorities in both countries learned of their first coronavirus case on the same day in late January, according to an investigation published by Reuters.

COMMENT South Korea's rapid deployment of testing was crucial because "speed is paramount" during an outbreak, said Sanghyuk Shin, an assistant professor of nursing at the University of California, Irvine, and the director of its Infectious Disease Science Initiative. "The longer the delay, the greater the mortality, and the public health response becomes much more difficult," he added. "The slow pace of rolling out testing in the US has significantly hampered our ability to slow the spread of this virus, and now we clearly have widespread community transmission."

As news of its successful testing program spread, Korean officials offered support to other nations. "I hope that South Korea's experience and approach will not only benefit other countries but also lead to greater international cooperation," Kang Kyung-wha, South Korea's foreign minister, told the BBC.

But that news wasn't welcome at the White House, where President Trump has been presiding over daily briefings characterized by misinformation, outright lies, racist characterizations of the virus's origin, and fantastic stretches of defensiveness. Time after time, he has downplayed the Korean tests—and the need for testing in general—and boasted that his approach was superior.

"I noticed a lot of people are talking about South Korea because they've done a good job on one side, but on the other side, tremendous problems at the beginning," Trump told reporters at the White House on March 16. (By the 24th, he had changed his tune and asked Moon in a phone call if South Korea could provide medical equipment to the United States.)

But the early tests were just one aspect of the Moon administration's success in combating the epidemic, South Korean residents said. The most important, they agreed, was the nation's national health care system, which was introduced in stages beginning in 1977 and extended to the entire nation in 1989.

They cited three other factors: the government's reliance on health and infectious-disease experts to provide information daily to the public, the availability of high-speed Internet and Wi-Fi across the country, and the traditional Korean practice of placing the public need above the individual—which is shared by many countries in Asia.

"Social distancing has been the main weapon of mass protection," said Sunoo. "Coronavirus has been contained because we're staying at home. It's less about protecting ourselves and more about that we don't want to spread this throughout the community." Persuading the public to follow these guidelines, she added, was enhanced by Moon's decision to make public health officials the official voice of the government.

Unlike Trump, who sparked widespread confusion and apathy with his conspiracy-laden pronouncements as the crisis unfolded, Moon ceded the public stage to Jeong Eun-kyeong, a former doctor who heads the Korea Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (KCDC). The government has also provided detailed information about Covid-19 patients, including where they have been and where they may have contracted the virus.

"The high level of transparency, the availability of testing, the round-the-clock heroism of doctors and nurses, and the government's refusal to initiate military-style lockdowns like in China will be seen down the road as parts of a blueprint for how to handle such a crisis democratically," Seth Martin, an American musician and teacher who has been living in Seoul since 2015, told *The Nation* in an e-mail.

But there have been problems. "In my opinion, the government does not pay enough attention to individual rights and has fully disclosed the personal details of patients" in public pronouncements, said Gayoon Baek, a Korean human rights activist in Seoul.

(continued on page 9)

"The longer the delay [in testing], the greater the mortality."

Asking for a Friend



Love Under Lockdown

Dear Liza,

My wife's coronavirus anxiety is through the roof and has taken the form of desperate stockpiling. Our teenage sons and I gape in disbelief at the supplies coming in the back door daily. Twenty boxes of Pop-Tarts—really??? My wife is a lauded author and professor, and the transformation over the past few weeks has been startling. She says to me, exasperated after I make a snarky comment, "Can't you have a little compassion?" I know it's difficult to trust Mike Pence or the Centers for Disease Control after it has been starved of funding by Donald Trump. But is there any better way to figure out what to do? —Involuntary Hoarder

Dear Involuntary,

You've nailed the root of the problem: With no confidence that our government will protect us, your wife is dealing with her justified anxieties by stocking up on supplies. And she's not the only one; many Americans have been doing the same. But you're not alone in your bewilderment as a spouse. *The Wall Street Journal* reported that many couples disagree on how much stockpiling is appropriate. There's a kernel of rationality in the prepping: Were someone in your house to get sick, your family would need to self-quarantine and keep out of the grocery store. (Of course, it's good to stay away from stores to minimize human contact right now, no matter what, though delivery is likely to remain a good option.) I agree, however, with your underlying sense that much of our hoarding isn't rooted in such practical thinking. Disruptions in the Pop-Tart supply chain aren't the most likely of our impending problems. I'm sure by now your family has figured out that the most urgent matter is to avoid catching or spreading the coronavirus, including by practicing social distancing and staying at least six feet away from other humans whenever possible.

The enormous life changes demanded of us by this effort may by now be distracting your wife from going to Costco. She probably has to figure out how to put all of her classes online, perhaps care for aging relatives long-distance, help you nag the teenagers (presumably stranded in the house all day and sleeping till noon) to resist the charms of TikTok and Instagram long enough to help with the chores and do whatever schoolwork their teachers have remotely mandated, and get some exercise. But if she's still stocking up, unless it's a budgetary issue for your family (which it may be if you've lost work to the virus), just let it go.

ILLUSTRATION BY JOANNA NEBORSKY

Twenty boxes of Pop-Tarts is more than you'll need, but this excess is not worth fighting about. I get annoyed when people try to use the pandemic as an opportunity for personal growth—our goal in a crisis should be to stay alive and help others do so as well, so let's not put extra pressure on ourselves to become more awesome during this time—but living in such close quarters with our partners and kids should, if anything, help us learn to pick our battles.

Dear Liza,

In this time of Covid-19, how should we take care of friends feeling lonely and blue, friends who have lost their jobs, friends whose parents are terribly sick but are not allowed visitors? Normally, I would seek them out or host them for drinks and dinner. How should I now practice solidarity? —Helpless Friend

Dear Helpless,

I feel your letter deeply. I have been struggling with this problem myself. Hanging out in person, meeting people for drinks, or hosting them for dinner is how we all try to look after friends in trouble. And let us not forget hugs, a critical source of solace we've abruptly lost. (And what about friends with benefits, who have suddenly had to withdraw even coffee dates from a list that recently included more intimate and cheering activities?) While social distancing is essential to reduce transmission—a critical need for our already overburdened and fragile health care system—its impact is not evenly distributed. The injunction not to visit other people's homes, not to spend time with anyone outside our immediate families or households, is a burden that

(continued on page 9)

Questions?
Ask Liza at
[TheNation.com/article/asking-for-a-friend](https://www.thenation.com/article/asking-for-a-friend)



JoAnn Wypijewski

Against the Vice Cop of the Mind

Some thoughts for reading in place.

Every high-profile controversy discloses a deeper reality, and the one involving Woody Allen and the off-again, on-again publication of his memoir is no different. There is the despised celebrity and then the despised many, who have no power and for whom a sex accusation or conviction may make their very existence criminal. There is one damned book and then the damned many, banned by the thousands by state and federal prison authorities. There is one attention-seeking crowd of private censors and then the crowd working less noisily, organizing morality campaigns to remove books from school, university, and public libraries. Every year the American Library Association puts out a Top 10 Most Challenged Books list. In 2017 the list included *Sex Is a Funny Word*, a sex ed book, challenged because of fears it might lead children to “ask questions about sex.” Since 2015, half the titles have had queer subjects.

Censorship is rarely called by its true name among those who practice it. History groans with the righteous justifications of private interests bent on erasing words and people they don’t like. New excuses can’t hide the old reflex. They do make it easy, though, to mistake the moral scold for the rebel spirit. Some scenes from the long contest between the vice cop of the mind and the champion of free thought offer a clarifying light.

Beginning in the 19th century, Anthony Comstock and his New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (supported by J.P. Morgan, William Dodge, Samuel Colgate, and *The New York Times*) ruined thousands of writers’ lives and destroyed hundreds of thousands of pounds of books and pamphlets, many by women, in the service of protecting “innocent girls.” Comstock’s successor, John Sumner, took up the cause in the 1910s, pressuring publishers into melting the printing plates for obscure, supposedly obscene novels, and in 1920 he and his crowd invoked the safety of “young girls” to get Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, lesbian heroes of the avant-garde press, arrested and prosecuted for daring to be the first in the world to publish *Ulysses*. Sumner also got the Post Office to burn some 20,000 copies of *The Little Review*, where the women had been serializing James Joyce’s masterwork. The vigilantes of decency had already scared off dozens of men in the reputable book trade from publishing anything by Joyce. When *Dubliners* finally got into print in Europe, a private citizen bought up the entire edition and had it set ablaze in Dublin. Joyce called it “a new and private auto-da-fé.”

Joyce is but a name we know. Avowed protection from deviance, dirt, degeneracy, and the corruption of children led to such routine burning of unknown titles by unknown authors in the Western world that when the Nazis torched the library and archive of the great Magnus Hirschfeld’s Institute for Sexual Science in 1933, the act reverberated most forcefully among Hirschfeld’s fellow Jews, sex radicals, and researchers, who were already habituated to stepping cautiously—studying women’s

sexual satisfaction in the United States, for instance, under the camouflage of “maternal health.” Depending on one’s point of view, Hirschfeld might be categorized as a “sexual psychopath” (an American synonym for “homosexual” in the 1930s), part of a group to be watched, suspected, obliterated, or as a founder of the world’s first gay rights organization and a giant in the study of human sexuality (that would be current history’s view; thank you, sexual liberation). One final example from a vast history: During the Red Scare and the interrelated though oft-ignored Lavender Scare, Cold War centurions in industry, the arts, media, unions, and other organizations cast themselves as defenders of democracy against radical contagion and guardians of wholesome (straight, marital, nonmiscegenationist) sexuality in their effort to shut people up, lock them up, oust them from their jobs, exile them, and deprive others of the freedom to see, read, know, be.

There is an element of the absurd in raising Ronan Farrow’s censorious zeal and Hachette’s cowardly decision to pulp Woody Allen’s memoir, *Apropos of Nothing*, on the heels of such weighty history. The book’s resurrection by Skyhorse Publishing, announced as we went to press, does not lessen it. These are absurd times, when censors masquerade as justice warriors. For them, the degenerate man, as Allen

has been labeled, is the real object of erasure. For Hachette, the cowardice was threefold, actually: first, in keeping its acquisition of Allen’s book a secret from Farrow, who as an author with its Little, Brown division did deserve the courtesy of a heads-up; second, in caving to the crowd, including protesting staffers, who invoked allegiance to Farrow and victims’ rights to validate their censors’ reflex; third, in couching its public explanation of the betrayal of an author (Allen) and the destruction of a book in the soothing language of commitment—to “challenging books,” “conflicting points of view,” and a “stimulating...work environment.” Hachette ought simply to have said what it meant: *We fear the crowd, the crowd has power, our US revenues dropped in 2019, so we chose the power side over the pervert.*

Farrow’s duplicity is more obvious. He made his first splash promulgating one side of a family drama, convicting Allen of child molestation in the public mind—despite copious reasons for doubt, including official investigations finding no abuse (which I discussed years ago in *The Nation*) and his brother Moses’s severe rebuttal in a 2018 blog post—and lamenting media industry efforts to obstruct his own writing about Hollywood.

“Free speech for me but not for thee,” as Nat Hentoff famously condensed it, is an ignoble political standard. Farrow, of course,



The early sex radicals and avant-garde feminists, who really were brave, recognized that the struggle to expand the realm of freedom had to include the freedom to write, read, see, and be seen.

A still life photograph of wine bottles, glasses, and fruit on a wooden surface. In the foreground, a bottle of wine with a green leaf label and 'G FACTOR' text is prominent. To its left is a glass of white wine. In the background, another bottle and glass are visible, along with a halved melon, a green apple, and some oranges. A dark slate board with coffee beans and a corkscrew lies in front of the main bottle.

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HOUSING RIGHTS

Gimme Shelter

With more than 550,000 homeless people in the United States already and millions of workers now without income, the coronavirus epidemic has become a crisis for tenants as well as for public health. To prevent illness and avoid mass displacement, housing advocates and city council members across the country are pushing for a freeze on evictions until the crisis is over.

On March 18, President Trump said the Department of Housing and Urban Development would suspend all evictions and foreclosures at least through April. Two days later, New York state announced a 90-day moratorium on evictions. Los Angeles put forward its own plan to temporarily ban evictions, and San Francisco halted evictions resulting from coronavirus-related nonpayment.

But activists say these efforts aren't enough, calling instead for a nationwide suspension of all evictions, foreclosures, and rent and utility payments. In cities around the country, tenants have started speaking of rent strikes. In LA, insecurely housed and homeless families have begun to occupy vacant houses and demand that such properties be used to accommodate those most vulnerable to the virus.

"There's people living in shelters. A lot are dirty. Libraries and gyms have shut down. There's nowhere for homeless people to even keep their hygiene up," one organizer said. "Since the government's not doing their job, we the people have to take power into our own hands."

—Taliah Mancini

is laden with emotion, with loyalty to his mother, Mia, and sister Dylan and his own lifetime of exposure to their accusing narratives. He cannot be dispassionate about Allen, and it's preposterous to think he should be. It's preposterous as well that others who care about writing, ideas, independent thought, and the freedom to see should lash their intellect to Farrow's prejudices. More disturbing is the pretense that there's high principle in cleansing the public sphere of anyone who's been declared a public demon.

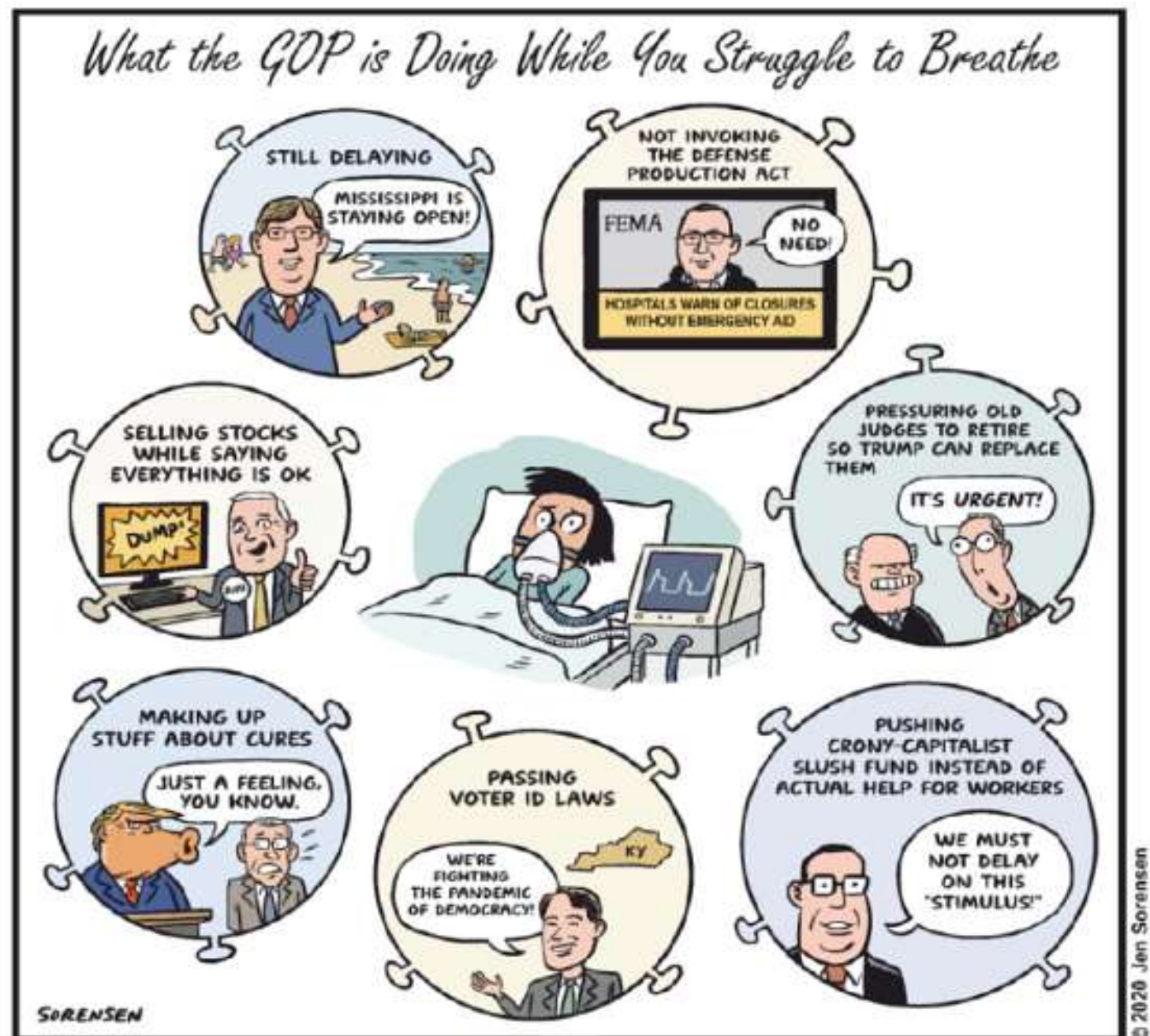
For the crowd in this case, the weasel's way out of complicity in censorship took routes, all of them dead ends. *Censorship is an act of the state. Businesses are free to do what they want. Who needs another book by Woody Allen? He's had his day in the sun. He's rich; he can self-publish (and, look, his book will still come out in France). This is a down payment on justice and accountability; the powerful have always had a platform, finally the powerless have a voice. "Free speech" is a bourgeois construct to maintain the social order, so why care about it for Woody fucking Allen?* Such were the sentiments floating in the suspect air after the staff walkout that

preceded Hachette's decision to pulp the book. So "brave," power agent Lynn Nesbit said of the walkout. "I feel moved almost to tears." Nesbit represents not just Ronan Farrow but also Dylan and Mia, who have both profited off accusations against Allen via book contracts and considerable flattery in the press.

It requires no illusions about the social order or the "free marketplace of ideas" to understand that the dead end is the point at which someone commands someone else to shut up. The problem with private censorship is not so different from the problem with the nondisclosure agreement. But under the cover of #MeToo, censorship and the will to shun and silence are being renovated as social goods when exercised by the self-declared forces of good, on behalf of the good, as if definitions of what's "good," what's "progress," aren't always politically contested. It's remarkable—at a time when scientists are purging their work of dangerous terms like "climate change" and "fetal tissue" and "transgender" in order to maintain federal funding—that anyone might feel confident that their own claim to purity can't boomerang.

COMIX NATION

JEN SORENSEN



The cowering power of the crowd suits the authoritarian spirit of the time, and some traditional defenders of free speech have gone soft or silent. The ACLU did not respond to a request for comment after the book was quashed. The Writers Guild issued no statement. PEN America issued a wobbly statement, which left Allen twisting in the wind, though its CEO, Suzanne Nossel, did slam Hachette's decision on the radio. Index on Censorship, by contrast, took swiftly to social and other media to defend principle. At the National Coalition Against Censorship, Christopher Finan criticized Hachette and pointed to the continuing relevance of "The Freedom to Read Statement," first issued by librarians and publishers during the Cold War. Amid the current enthusiasm for moral cleansing, its propositions bear study, particularly one that states, "No art or literature can flourish if it is to be measured by the political views or private lives of its creators. No society of free people can flourish that draws up lists of writers to whom it will not listen, whatever they may have to say."

The early sex radicals and avant-garde feminists, who really

were brave, recognized that the struggle to expand the realm of freedom had to include the freedom to write, read, see, and be seen, all of which broadened knowledge of—hence possibilities for—human experience. (It's notable that Sylvia Beach, also a lover of women, was the first to publish *Ulysses* in its entirety, from her bookshop in Paris in 1922, thus providing the basis on which the men at Random House were able to orchestrate the landmark Supreme Court ruling on obscenity years later.) "Vice," a term that in those days covered almost any writing about sex and any nonconformist behavior, was the point of a spear that helped enforce every social hierarchy and intensify every form of repression. We don't use the word much today, but the vice cop of the mind is still on the beat, allowing a certain kind of sex talk—the stories of abuse and accusation—but making it unanswerable, deciding who is worthy to speak, who is not, and who should hide. Skyhorse's bet on a market for Allen's book while much of society is housebound should not obscure that larger and unlively reality. ■

(continued from page 4)

"That's not even necessary to prevent the spread of Covid-19." In fact, the country has a history of mass surveillance, which is partly a residue of its authoritarian past.

In response to such criticism, the KCDC recently issued new guidelines to local governments asking them "not to release specific addresses or workplace names so as to protect patients' privacy," the progressive newspaper *Hankyoreh* reported. "Local governments are also being asked to stop disclosing patients' travel paths and the places they've visited."

And in February, as the epidemic in China reached a peak, Moon angered many Koreans when he decided against closing the country's borders to China. Right-wing politicians who have been gunning for Moon ever since his election in 2017 slammed him for that decision and even supported an online petition seeking his impeachment, which was signed by over 1 million people.

"In the early days of the virus, many South Koreans were furious with their government," said Martin, who is married to a South Korean artist and lives in a working-class area of Seoul.

**As of
March 24,
South Korea
had tested
348,582. The
US? 88,042.**

"Yet as the scenario played out, it became increasingly clear that South Korea was on top of its game, and the government had actually done a really amazing job of mostly containing the virus without diving into denialism on the one hand and totalitarianism on the other. We are really lucky to be in such a well-prepared situation under a government that chose to take an aggressive, yet democratic, stance." According to the latest poll conducted by the broadcaster MBC, 68.5 percent of South Koreans approve of the government's handling of the outbreak.

As of March 24, South Korean authorities reported a total of 9,037 cases of Covid-19, with 120 deaths, and said they had conducted 348,582 tests. In the United States, with a population seven times as large, the CDC reported 44,183 cases, 544 deaths, and 88,042 tests. For two nations with an entwined history that goes back more than 70 years, the contrast in their approaches to one of the worst pandemics in history could not be clearer. TIM SHORROCK

Tim Shorrock is a journalist based in Washington, DC, and the author of Spies for Hire: The Secret World of Intelligence Outsourcing.

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may fall more heavily on those who live alone and count on friends for company, as well as on anyone who is suffering and in need of emotional support. In a society unaccustomed to sacrificing for the common good, many of us are zealously trying to do our part not to spread or contract the virus, but we may do so clumsily and without regard to the psychic pain around us.

People are just beginning to discuss the coming toll of social distancing on our mental health. As Ezra Klein writes in *Vox*, we are about to face a "loneliness epidemic." My sister Miranda, a social worker, says, "People are going to crack. Social isolation is really dangerous." De-

pending on where you live and what kind of recommendations or lockdown rules are in place, if you have distressed friends who are especially in need of human contact, you might be able to meet up and take a walk together, observing epidemiologists' recommendations to stay at least six feet away from each other. (You probably need to get outside anyway, for your own mental health.) If you have a stoop, porch, or backyard that allows a safe physical distance, you could carefully hang out that way, too. Safer yet, some people are meeting for cocktails or coffee virtually via Zoom or FaceTime.

This pandemic presents us with emotional and social challenges that we've never faced before. The closest analog to the

problem you pose is supporting suffering friends who live far away. Most of us have had to do this at times, and it's never been easy. Thanks to technology, we have more ways of offering comfort than we did when humans had only letters and, later, the phone. In many cases, the best we can do right now is to let our friends know we are thinking of them. We can text to check in and also have long conversations by DM or Skype. We can even bring back letters and phone calls. My hope is that we all help each other survive this crisis by doing such things, but I also hope that we remember how much we've lost by not being physically together—and press our governments to be more prepared for the next plague so this never happens again. ■



IMMIGRATION

Sealing
Borders

In a matter of weeks, the unthinkable has become the new normal. The Schengen Agreement, which guarantees free movement among 26 European nations, has withered. Transatlantic air links are shutting down. Many countries are trying to close themselves off from their neighbors. Maybe all of this is warranted. But in these terrifying times, we must not lose our ability to parse what's necessary from what's politically convenient.

For example, the US-Mexico border has essentially been sealed, and all those attempting to claim asylum are being turned back with no right to a court hearing, no attempt to investigate whether they are fleeing for their lives. This has long been the dream of Stephen Miller, a hard-line policy adviser to President Trump; now it's our reality.

The administration insists that it has no choice because the asylum seekers could be carrying the coronavirus (though it's far more likely that people from the US would spread it to Latin America). And then, in one of the White House's most brazenly hypocritical rhetorical pivots, it argues that it's doing this *for the good of the asylum seekers*—because it doesn't want to endanger their health by incarcerating them in closed facilities where Covid-19 can spread.

It's true these facilities are a risk. But that didn't stop the administration from initially locking up people, including children, in fetid quarters where mumps, measles, chicken pox, flu, scabies, and other afflictions have wreaked havoc.

—Sasha Abramsky

From 9/11 to Covid-19

The coronavirus will test whether we have learned to protect rights during an emergency.

In the aftermath of 9/11, many Americans were only too happy to exchange some of their fundamental rights for the promise of security, especially if the ones losing their rights were other Americans. It was OK, for instance, for George W. Bush's administration to create the Transportation Security Administration and for it to “keep us safe” by racially profiling Muslims—or, really, any person brown enough to be perceived as Muslim. It was OK for the government to suspend habeas corpus for the people detained at Guantánamo Bay.

The thing is, once rights and liberties are taken away, even if they're only “suspended” in response to an emergency, those rights and liberties are extremely hard to claw back. Just look at the establishment of warrantless surveillance under Section 215 of the Patriot Act. The provision has been fought by civil liberties organizations for nearly two decades, and it was finally due to expire on March 15 of this year. But because of—wait for it—the coronavirus, Congress agreed to extend the provisions for a few months while the Senate works to pass the freshly titled USA Freedom Reauthorization Act of 2020. If passed, it will continue the kind of warrantless surveillance and data collection that Congress initially sanctioned as an emergency reaction to 9/11. Rights don't just bounce back after a crisis passes.

The coronavirus pandemic will now test whether we've learned anything from our post-9/11 failures. As we settle into our long-term “emergency” response, we have to be vigilant about protecting our rights and liberties. But we also have to be able to engage in a nuanced conversation about the things we need to do to keep us safe. I'm not going to lie: I would absolutely sacrifice some liberty to keep my family safe from the virus.

The problem is that when the emergency is over, I expect my rights back. I expect other people to get their rights back, too, whether or not they can afford a lawyer to make that happen.

But public officials are always loath to declare an emergency over for fear that something bad will happen the next day. Covid-19 is an acute problem that we're dealing with now, but the threat of a pandemic is ever present and is something that smart people have been warning us

about for some time. There's always going to be the threat of another disease, so when exactly will it be safe for people to congregate in large groups again? Will the restoration of that constitutional freedom be delayed for those who want to congregate in large, closely packed groups to complain about the government? Because we can't live in a world where we lose the right to protest.

Still, many of us can agree to live with a *temporary* ban on large public gatherings. (Being unable to go watch the Knicks has been a blessing disguised as a sacrifice.) But there are other rights we should never sacrifice, even in the face of widespread panic,

because the threat of never getting them back is too great. The Department of Justice, an institution that has lost all trust and credibility under the leadership of Attorney General William Barr, proposed allowing judges the authority to indefinitely postpone all court proceedings in the face of the outbreak. This would essentially allow judges to suspend a person's right to trial, giving the carceral state the

right to hold people for an indefinite time without a trial or even a criminal charge.

It's not surprising that Barr would first seek to curtail the rights of those who have been arrested. The encroachment

on our civil liberties almost always starts with our most vulnerable citizens and radiates from there. Still, as we saw after 9/11, the deepest threat to our liberties might not be the suspension of some of our public rights but rather the enhancement of state surveillance of our private lives. Leaked documents obtained by *The Nation's* Ken Klippenstein reveal that the Customs and Border Protection agency has an emergency plan in place that would allow the government to indefinitely track and even detain people reentering the country from abroad. If this power is ever exercised, it could probably never be stuffed back into its Pandora's box.

Somewhere between an acceptable long-term sacrifice for safety (like reduced occupancy limits)



As we settle into our long-term “emergency” response to the pandemic, we have to be vigilant about protecting our rights.

and an unacceptable form of government overreach (such as indefinite government surveillance) lies the smartphone. Public health officials know that our phones collect valuable data that can help them track and monitor the spread of a virus. And companies have made apps, such as the ones that monitor body temperature, that could help the authorities make wise decisions about quarantines and other restrictions intended to flatten the curve and save our health care system from being overloaded.

The technology sounds great—unless you’ve read almost any science fiction novel about a future dystopia. Mark Zuckerberg and Jeff Bezos and Christopher Wray and Guccifer 2.0 probably all already know too much about my damn life. Why would I give that information to a public health Skynet as well?

I recently did a coronavirus law webinar with *Slate*

during which *Vox*’s Ian Millhiser proposed a good solution for our emergency laws: sunset provisions. Any measure we enact or require as part of our coronavirus response must come with a mandatory provision stating that the law will lapse after a fixed period—no extensions, no reauthorizations, and no subjective determination of when the emergency has passed. Once the law ceases to exist, if we still want to keep it, Congress should have to go through the process of writing a whole new bill under nonemergency conditions, not merely change the name of an old bill and try to pass it off as new.

I’d add that this provision should apply to anything we’re asked to download as well. I want something like the technology from the old *Mission: Impossible* television show: “This app, if you choose to accept it, will self-destruct in two weeks.” ■

Any measure we enact as part of our coronavirus response must come with a provision stating that the law will lapse after a fixed period of time.

SNAPSHOT /
CHRISTOPHER FURLONG

Swing of Things

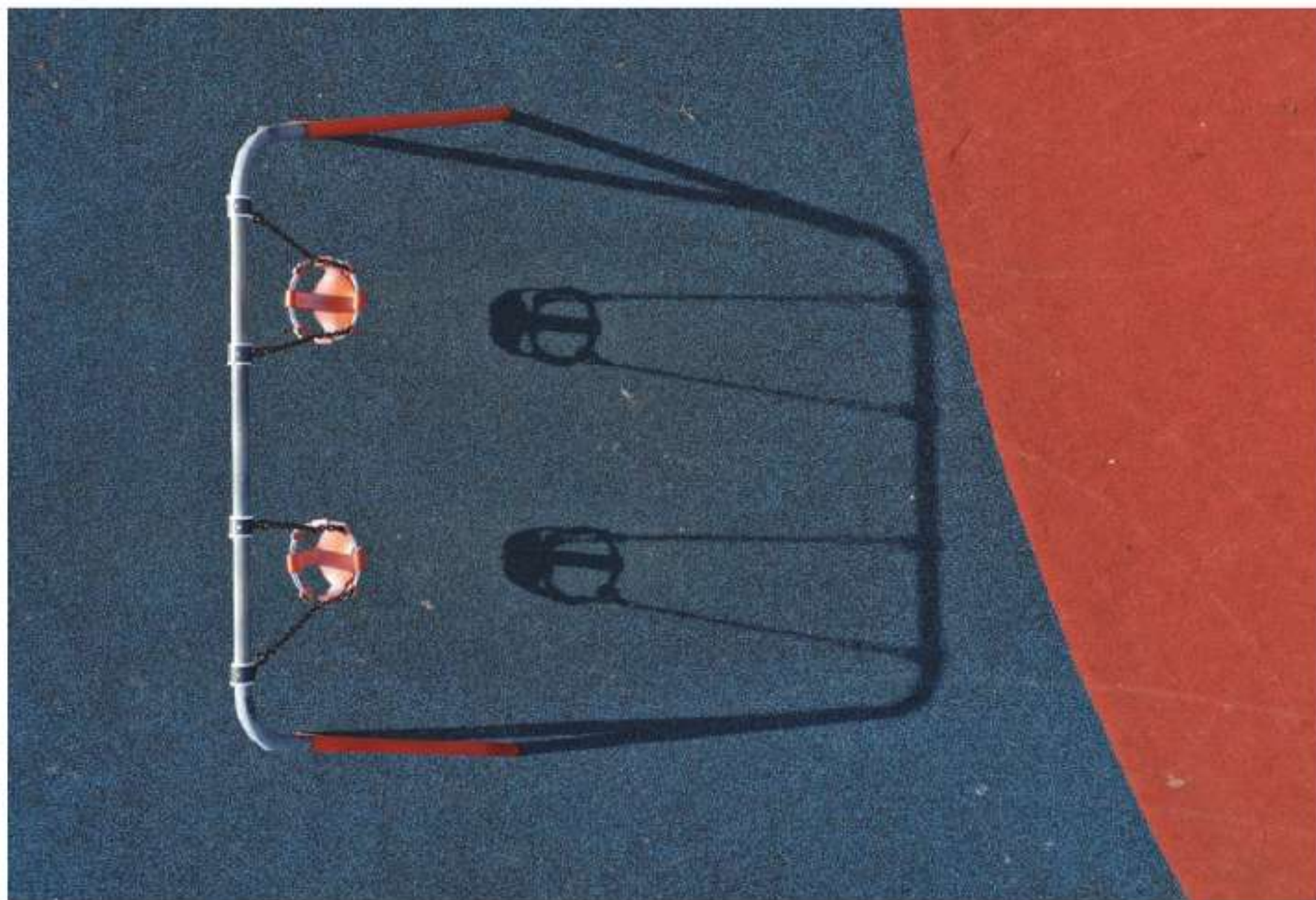
A swing set stands unused on March 23 after the city of Leeds, England, closed all of its playgrounds. Prime Minister Boris Johnson initially supported a strategy to allow the coronavirus to spread and build up the United Kingdom’s herd immunity. Now the UK, like many other European nations, is on lockdown.

Calvin Trillin
Deadline Poet

MIXED MESSAGE

Trump’s contradictions of experts create confusion. —news reports

Not finding White House briefings edifying,
Some citizens are simply not complying
With steps to keep a lot more folks from dying.
So it might help if Donald Trump quit lying.
Fat chance.



The Nation.

How to
WIN
in
Wisconsin

Wisconsinites know what it will take.
Will Democrats listen?

JOHN NICHOLS



(1/24/20)



DEMOCRATS HAD A MOMENT OF PANIC in February, when a Quinnipiac University poll showed Donald Trump beating the party's various presidential contenders by wide margins—seven to 11 points—in Wisconsin.

The panic was understandable. Political seers have identified Wisconsin as a must-win, with *The Washington Post* explaining, “Many pundits and pollsters have declared that the state could be the tippest of tipping points” in the fight for an Electoral College majority in 2020.

If Wisconsin had, indeed, tipped to Trump, it wasn't simply an embarrassment for the swing state's Democratic cadres, who are still trying to explain how historically Democratic loyalties were abandoned in the last presidential election. It was a nightmare for national Democratic officials as well, because, as *New York Times* election guru Nate Cohn observed in his 2020 Electoral College breakdowns, “One reason that [even] such a small swing in Wisconsin could be so important is that the Democrats do not have an obviously promising alternative if Wisconsin drifts to the right.”

So if the Quinnipiac poll was right, all hope was lost. Social media clogged up with predictions of impending doom. Then Representative Mark Pocan, a Wisconsin Democrat and cochair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, pulled out his cell phone and advised calm. “Outlier poll, folks. Breath[e],” tweeted Pocan, who has won 15 elections at the local, state, and federal level over the past 30 years. “Doesn't look like [the] others at all.”

He turned out to be right. Wisconsin hasn't been lost. Ensuing polls put the state right where it has been for most

of the past four years: too close to call. As of mid-March, the *RealClearPolitics* survey of recent polls had Trump tied with Joe Biden at 45 percent and a point behind Bernie Sanders, 45.2 to 46.2 percent. Trump won't run away with Wisconsin. The question is whether any Democrat will turn out enough new voters and win back enough swing voters to beat him. That question is now complicated by the coronavirus outbreak and the vast economic upheaval associated with it. But basic premises still apply.

“If this is a close election, whoever wins Wisconsin will be the next president,” says Democratic Party of Wisconsin chair Ben Wikler. A top national organizer for MoveOn who returned to his home state and was elected to lead the party there, Wikler has spent the past year explaining the calculus that has Wisconsin and national Democrats obsessing. “All the states where Trump is more popular than he is in Wisconsin don't add up to enough Electoral College votes to win the presidency. Neither do all the states where Trump is less popular than he is in Wisconsin. So if the Electoral College vote is close, Wisconsin is the most likely state to tip the balance.”

This isn't just a party chair talking big about the turf he works. The Democratic National Committee is so serious about Wisconsin that it decided to hold the party's highest-profile event of 2020 there: the national convention that Democrats still hope will happen in Milwaukee this summer.

But it will take more than a convention to swing Wisconsin. For Democrats to win in November, they have to get everything right—as they did in the 2018 midterm elections, when the party won every statewide race on the ballot, throwing out right-wing Republican Governor Scott Walker and his attorney general and reelecting liberal Democratic Senator Tammy Baldwin.

The Democrats have to build a multiracial, multiethnic campaign that excites and mobilizes voters in Milwaukee and other cities with substantial nonwhite voting blocs, such as Racine and Beloit; renew the party's appeal in rural counties, where its support collapsed four years ago; overcome voter suppression strategies put in place by the Republicans; and develop a platform that speaks to the issues that concern Wisconsinites—especially women, whose support for Democratic challenger Tony Evers, at 54 to 45 percent, ousted Walker two years ago. And the party has to field candidates for president and vice president who know the

state, recognize its importance, and pay it the time and attention required to pull those threads together.

“Pretty much, you have to do it all,” says Peter Rickman, a Milwaukee union organizer and activist who has been intimately involved in every major progressive Wisconsin campaign over the past decade. “And if you lose a piece, if it doesn't come together, sure, we could lose.”

Plenty of pundits have their one-size-fits-all theories for what ails the Democratic Party, both nationally and in places like Wisconsin. Some of those theories,

“Sometimes I just shake my head. I mean, have they ever even been to Eau Claire?”

—Sarah Godlewski,
Wisconsin
state treasurer

especially the ones advanced by never-Trump conservatives in the studios of MSNBC and the op-ed pages of *The New York Times*, are so off base that one of Wisconsin's new generation of elected officials, state Treasurer Sarah Godlewski, says, "Sometimes I just shake my head. I mean, have they ever even been to Eau Claire?"

DON'T GET GODLEWSKI WRONG. SHE'S WORKED FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT and traveled the world, and she was a national finance council cochair for the Ready for Hillary super PAC. But like all of the Wisconsinites I asked about what it will take to win in 2020, Godlewski warned against imagining that a simplistic focus on gut instincts or even sophisticated data-driven schemes will be enough to close the deal in a state with a political history so complicated that it has, over the past century, put fiery left-wing populist Robert M. La Follette and fearmongering red-baiter Joe McCarthy on the national stage. There is no easy way around the fact that Wisconsin—a state that backed every Democratic presidential nominee from Michael Dukakis in 1988 to Barack Obama in 2012—joined two other historically Democratic states (Michigan and Pennsylvania) to reject Hillary Clinton in 2016 and tip the Electoral College to Trump.

Every serious search for a winning formula in Wisconsin begins with a forensic examination of what went wrong in 2016. People have plenty of answers, all of them grounded in the bitter reality of a Democratic campaign that missed its mark. Clinton did not make even a single appearance in Wisconsin throughout the fall—an absence that made it harder for her to address concerns about her past support for free-trade deals in a state where cities like Milwaukee and Janesville have been battered by deindustrialization. At the same time, her campaign failed to recognize that Trump was selling a narrative that would win over some traditionally Democratic voters and cause many others to stay home.

Generic Democratic campaign ads focusing on Trump's crude sexism may have shored up support among the state's confirmed Clinton voters, but they failed to move the conservative suburban women she was seeking to attract. One of her key 2016 backers says, "We would call Brooklyn [where the national campaign was headquartered] and say, 'This doesn't feel right. This isn't working.' And they would say, 'Relax, we've

got data that says we're going to win big.'"

Instead, Clinton lost small, falling short by just 0.77 percent of the vote. Compared with Obama's substantial victories in the state—he garnered 56 percent of the vote in 2008 and 53 percent in 2012—her 46.5 percent finish seems dismal. But the fact is that his robust margins were outliers; Democrats have often had to claw their way to victory in Wisconsin. Bill Clinton won there in 1992 and 1996, but he never got 50 percent of the vote. Al Gore's advantage over George W. Bush in 2000 was a mere 5,708 votes. John Kerry won against Bush in 2004 by 11,384 votes. "We've long been balanced on a knife's edge," Wikler observes. "Trump's under-1 percent margin of victory in 2016 was a return to form."

That may be somewhat comforting to Democrats who thought everything went to hell the last time around. But it shouldn't be, because the party that was always able to eke out a win couldn't beat Trump in 2016. Since taking office, he and Vice President Mike Pence have made the state a regular stop, with Trump postponing a planned March rally only after an outcry about a mass event being scheduled as the coronavirus outbreak spread.

"Donald Trump has a movement behind him. Just because it's rooted in xenophobia and white supremacy doesn't make it any less of a mass movement," says Jennifer Epps-Addison, a longtime Milwaukee organizer who now serves as the president and a co-executive director of the Center for Popular Democracy. "We have to have a candidate and a campaign with a movement behind it to beat Donald Trump."

The president, who admitted that he was surprised to win Wisconsin, is full of confidence now. His campaign mirrors that bravado. "No matter which socialist emerges from this bruising primary," Trump's Wisconsin campaign spokesperson, Anna Kelly, said in a statement, "they stand no chance against our top-notch permanent ground game, unparalleled data program, and vast fundraising war chest that will once again propel President Trump to victory in November."

Walker's backers peddled that sort of spin before his defeat in 2018, and Democrats certainly stand a chance in 2020. But, Pocan says, they have to run an "all of the above" campaign, one with "a Milwaukee strategy, a rural strategy, a midsize-city strategy. It's got to be all about turning out the vote in all the places where Democrats can get votes. And that's just the start. It has to be about how the message is framed and who frames it."

Pocan, a Sanders backer, argued that the Vermont senator could renew the state's Democratic coalition—especially in places like Pocan's hometown of Kenosha, historically a manufacturing center that has seen major factories close in a county that gave Trump a 255-vote win (out of more than 75,000 cast) in 2016.

The concern that many Wisconsin Democrats expressed regarding Biden has to do with the issue of trade policy. It's a problem he has to address aggressively.

"Our best shot at winning Wisconsin was always to nominate a progressive who understands



The Democratic VP pick should be a woman as well as someone who gets economic populism.

Bosom buddies: President Donald Trump and Scott Walker at an October 2018 rally in Mosinee, Wisconsin.



not just how disastrous Trump's trade wars have been but also why the neoliberal trade policies of the Clinton administration are still haunting the politics of the Midwest," Epps-Addison says. "Democrats have to understand that nominating supporters of NAFTA really can depress votes and make it significantly harder to win in November." Because Trump certainly understands this. If Biden is his opponent, Trump will weaponize every pro-free-trade statement Biden ever made.

BIDEN CAN MITIGATE HIS VULNERABILITY BY DETAILING Trump's broken promises on trade policy and pointing out the ways the president has used Wisconsin workers and farmers as pawns in his wrangling with China and Mexico. The presumptive Democratic nominee can also pick a running mate with a better record than his. Wisconsinites love the idea of his choosing Baldwin, a progressive who has sided with Sanders on many key issues. But the deeper point they make is that his vice presidential pick should be a woman as well as someone who gets economic populism. No matter who's on the ticket, however, Wisconsin activists, strategists, and officials say there are some basic focuses necessary to win the state and the presidency.

§ *Economic populism:* Wisconsin's identity remains wrapped up in its factories and farms and the political traditions that extend from them. It's a place where progressive populist messages work—Sanders won 71 of 72 counties in his 2016 primary fight with Clinton—and where even Republicans frame their policy agendas, however cynically, as attacks on elite privilege. Now, however, with the coronavirus outbreak upending every economic calculation, the Democrats' populism must be focused and forward-looking. "It's not enough to say, 'Bad trade deals have hurt workers and farmers.' It's got to get beyond slogans," argues Rickman, who maintains that the Democratic nominee must acknowledge not just Republicans but also many Democrats who were too deferential to Wall Street.

Yet while frankness is critical, realism is, too. "You can't just hearken back to the past and say, 'We're bringing all the manufacturing jobs back,'" he adds. "That's what Trump does, and people understand now that he's lying. Candidates have to recognize that people don't necessarily miss manufacturing jobs. They miss the good pay and the good benefits that went with manufacturing jobs. The Democratic nominee has to talk about how a Democratic administration would transform the jobs of today and tomorrow—service jobs, warehouse jobs, call-center jobs—into the high-paying jobs of the future. And it can't just be feel-good talk. It has to focus on balancing the power in the economy between the boss class and the working class."

§ *Organize the hell out of Milwaukee:* While the voter suppression schemes implemented by Walker and his allies have done damage, Wisconsin remains a high-turnout state with close elections. The balance is often tipped in the Milwaukee area, with a multiracial, multiethnic city that is heavily Democratic and overwhelmingly white suburbs that are heavily Republican.

Dating back to Walker's 2010 election and the fight



Progressive champion: Senator Tammy Baldwin celebrates her 2018 reelection victory in Madison, Wisconsin.



No matter the challenges, once the ticket is chosen, [Ben] Wikler promises to "hit the turbo button."

over his anti-labor agenda, which sparked an unsuccessful recall election in 2012, Wisconsin Republicans and national groups like Americans for Prosperity have poured resources into organizing the so-called WOW counties (Waukesha, Ozaukee, and Washington) that surround Milwaukee. Meanwhile, the Democrats and their allies, including the unions weakened by Walker's assaults on the right to organize, have focused on the city—and for good reason. When Milwaukee turnout is off, as it was in 2016, Democrats have a hard time making up the difference even when they get huge margins in the vote-rich and very progressive state capital of Madison and surrounding Dane County.

Epps-Addison, who's been organizing for decades, points out that groups already on the ground—BLOC (Black Leaders Organizing for Communities), LIT (Leaders Igniting Transformation), the African-American Roundtable, and Voces de la Frontera among them—"have done a lot of the work already. So invest in those grassroots organizations early to allow them to launch their field programs now. Don't wait until after the convention. Don't wait until the fall."

The Democratic Party's Wikler and other Wisconsin activists recognize that the coronavirus outbreak could seriously complicate traditional organizing strategies. As a result, they've developed sophisticated plans to go virtual. "The key is to keep connecting with people in the most direct ways we can," he says. "We can't stop organizing, because we know how close the election could still be." The 2018 midterms were close as well, and it looked as if Republicans would win most of the statewide contests. Then the Milwaukee results came in, and Democrats took the races for governor and attorney general by under 30,000 votes. Something like that could happen again in 2020.

§ *Organize the hell out of Eau Claire:* Wisconsin's smaller cities, like Eau Claire and La Crosse in the west, Janesville and Beloit in the south, Racine and Kenosha in the southeast, and Oshkosh, Appleton, and Green Bay in the northeast, all send Democrats to the state legislature. Most are historically industrial centers; several have established African American communities and growing Latino populations. Many of the organizing strategies that apply in Milwaukee will apply in smaller cities as well. And these places are 2020 battlegrounds. Trump's campaign rallies, in 2016 and since, have targeted many of these cities. But they are also places where his promises have not been kept.

Last fall, Wikler notes, the Democrats launched "a wave of organizing
(continued on page 26)

Catholic universities are using arguments about religious freedom to exempt themselves from laws protecting workers' rights. Now those workers are appealing to Catholic values to fight back.

AMY LITTLEFIELD



UNION-BUSTING IN THE NAME OF GOD

BETSY PINGREE HAS BEEN LIVING WITH FRIENDS FOR FREE BECAUSE she can't afford an apartment while finishing her dissertation on the precarious conditions of migrant laborers in the 20th century. Standing with fellow graduate-student workers at Boston College who are demanding recognition of their union, she acknowledged the irony. Like many in her cohort on this leafy Catholic campus in the Boston area, she works as many as 60 hours a week on her research and teaching. She earns a stipend of \$22,600 a year; the average one-bedroom apartment in Boston costs \$11,000 more than that. She used to live with her husband, a disabled veteran, who helped support her with his government payments. Now that he works out of state, she can't pay her own rent.

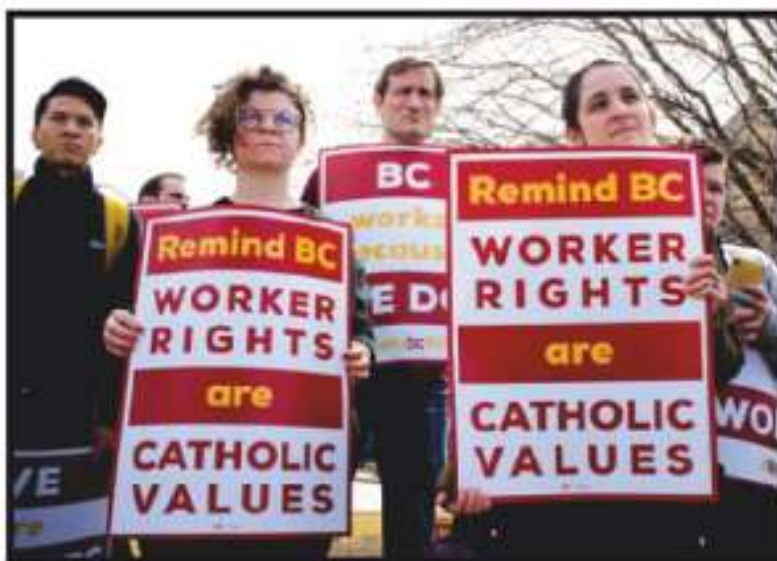
On March 10, Pingree stood outside a Gothic-style Jesuit church at the entrance to the school with other graduate teaching and research assistants, holding placards that read, "Worker rights are Catholic values." The rally came one day before Boston College announced it would cancel on-campus classes and shift to online instruction because of the coronavirus threat. BC declared that while fully funded graduate students would keep their stipends and benefits, hourly paid graduate students would get a check only "if they are fulfilling their regular responsibilities—and work on campus." Meanwhile, Sam Levinson, a chemistry PhD candidate, said research assistants like her who work in labs were feeling pressured by their supervisors to continue showing up for work until the university announced it would "ramp down" research by the end of the day on March 20. The crisis only underscored the lack of protection faced by these workers, who accuse Boston College of betraying the Jesuit tradition of reverence for unions by refusing to bargain with them after they won a union election in 2017. "Without a contract, we have no access to any kind of guarantee that our bosses will protect us from harm in this situation," Levinson said. At the rally, the organizers hoped to grab the attention of a delegation from the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities that was visiting the campus as part of a review process through which schools like BC are supposed to demonstrate their commitment to Jesuit values, including on issues like payment for employees. While the university has negotiated with unions representing police and facilities workers, administrators insist that Pingree and her colleagues are students, not workers. And in opposing their right to form a union, the school has invoked a legal argument that has found increasing favor with federal agencies and courts: that BC's Catholic mission puts the workers outside the protection of the law—in this case, outside the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which enforces the right of private-sector workers to unionize.

Religiously affiliated institutions, from Catholic universities like Boston College to for-profit corporations with Christian owners like Hobby Lobby, have used arguments about religious freedom to win exemptions

from an array of laws intended to protect workers over the past decade. Many of these cases concerned the Affordable Care Act's requirement that employer health plans cover birth control. But religious corporations have expanded such requests to seek ever-broader power over their workers, including the right to underfund employee pension plans and bust unions in the name of God. Some of these cases have been driven by groups like the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, which wants to limit government regulation of religious entities and represented Hobby Lobby in its suit over the ACA's birth control requirement, enabling foster care and adoption agencies to discriminate against LGBTQ parents and religious schools to fire employees with disabilities. Other cases have been brought by universities like Boston College that may have a financial rather than a religious motive for fighting unions on their campuses. "Employers have an incentive to refuse to bargain and just kind of rest on their religious character,"

said Charlotte Garden, an associate professor at Seattle University School of Law. Her university, a Jesuit school, invoked a similar religious argument to defeat a union campaign by its adjunct professors.

The rise in corporate religious rights has coincided with an erosion in legal protections for workers overall. Forced to turn to a higher power than the law, workers at Catholic institutions have invoked the long history of support for unions in Catholic teaching. These workers have mounted campaigns accusing their institutions



A higher law: Graduate student workers at Boston College argue that the university is betraying its Jesuit values in refusing to recognize their union.

"Employers have [a financial] incentive to refuse to bargain and just kind of rest on their religious character."

—Charlotte Garden, Seattle University School of Law

of taking advantage of the Trump administration's evisceration of union rights while abandoning their Catholic values. "The efforts by these universities come at a time when a conservative judicial majority right now in the Supreme Court—and a growing sentiment on the federal court benches in general—favors using constitutional principles like the First Amendment as a battering ram against workers' ability to bargain collectively," said Joseph McCartin, a professor of history at Georgetown University. "What you're seeing is institutions that are hiding behind the law but ignoring their own social teaching."

The NLRB is composed of Donald Trump appointees who have made clear their intention to roll back union rights, including those of graduate students at private universities like BC. In September the board issued a draft rule—which is under review after a flood of public comments—to revoke the right of these students to unionize under its jurisdiction, reversing a ruling from 2016 that spurred a wave of graduate student unionization nationwide. In a second blow to workers at religious universities, a federal appeals court in January ruled that Duquesne University did not have to recognize its adjunct faculty union because of its Catholic mission. "The workers at these institutions find themselves doubly betrayed, because on the one hand, like workers everywhere, they're finding that the law provides less and less protection for them in the 21st-century economy," McCartin said. "At the same time, they are working in institutions whose principles and

teachings would seem to uphold their right to come together, and yet those institutions are now telling them that no, they don't have those rights."

Since the 2016 election, labor organizers have anticipated that a Trump-appointed NLRB might issue a sweeping exemption to religious universities. The fear of such a ruling prompted the Boston College graduate union to withdraw its petition to enforce its election in 2018. In a statement to *The Nation*, BC said this withdrawal "ended any legal basis for the University to grant the students' request to bargain." (The statement added that teaching and research assistants receive "generous annual stipends.") But Bryn Spielvogel, an education PhD candidate who makes \$21,000 during the academic year, said the university shouldn't rely on the Trump administration's anti-union position. "They no longer have a legal obligation to recognize and bargain with our union, but we believe that they still have a moral obligation to do so, particularly as a Jesuit university that holds up social justice as a core value and mission of the university," Spielvogel said.

IN AUGUST 2013, MARGARET MARY VOJTKO WAS FOUND unconscious from a heart attack on the front lawn of her derelict home after being let go from her job as an adjunct professor at Duquesne University. Vojtko, who at age 83 was being treated for ovarian cancer, had been earning less than \$10,000 a year with no health benefits and was laid off without severance or retirement benefits from an institution where she had taught for a quarter of a century. She never regained consciousness, and her death two weeks later became a rallying cry for the plight of adjuncts, who work on fixed-term contracts; such non-tenure-track positions make up more than 70 percent of teaching positions in higher education. The year before her death, adjunct professors at Duquesne voted to form a union, but the university refused to recognize them, claiming it didn't have to because of its Catholic mission.

While the NLRB generally protects workers at religious hospitals and workers like custodians who are clearly uninvolved in the religious missions of their employers, teachers at religious universities have proved to be more of a sticking point. In 2014, in a case concerning Pacific Lutheran University, the NLRB said, over the objections of the Becket Fund, that it could protect adjunct faculty at religiously affiliated universities unless the school claimed the teachers performed a religious function. The board therefore ordered Duquesne to negotiate with the adjuncts, ruling that only faculty in the theology department were exempt. But this January the DC Circuit Court of Appeals said any attempt by the NLRB to parse the role of faculty "impermissibly intrudes into religious matters." (The union has petitioned for a rehearing in the case.)

The adjunct professors at Duquesne point out that the university's Catholic mission has not prevented it from recognizing the rights of police, public safety dispatchers, and other workers who are unionized at its Pittsburgh campus. But according to the school, the adjuncts are different because "the academic work



Papal decree: Pope Francis said, "There is no good society without a good union."

Boston College "no longer [has] a legal obligation to recognize and bargain with our union, but they still have a moral obligation to do so."

—Bryn Spielvogel,
Boston College PhD
candidate

of the University across all disciplines is the work of the Church and contributes to the Church's mission of evangelization." Clint Benjamin, an adjunct professor of English at Duquesne, rejected that idea. "I would say that there is zero religious content in my curriculum," he said. "I guess by showing up, in their eyes, I work for the mission, but you don't have to be religious to go there. I didn't have to take a fealty oath or anything."

He called Duquesne's decision to evoke its Catholic mission against the adjuncts "willfully hypocritical." Duquesne, in response,

pointed to a statement from the Rev. Dennis Holtschneider, the president of the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities. "Duquesne voluntarily recognizes four unions on campus and is not so easily dismissed as anti-union, or anti-church-teaching on unions," he wrote. "The question at some Catholic universities is less about unions as a larger reality, and more about particular unions in particular situations, especially when the Catholic identity of an institution could be impacted."

But Benjamin noted the school's Catholic mission should make it even more inclined to protect adjuncts, who work in precarious conditions. He has not been assigned any classes at Duquesne this semester because of low enrollment. When they have work, adjuncts there make only \$4,000 a course.

"Pope Francis has said that labor unions are necessary and defends the dignity of work, and Duquesne itself pays lip service to helping, supposedly, the downtrodden and the weak, like good Catholics," Benjamin said. "But the reality is, at least in my situation, in our adjunct situation, that they do not."

IN 1891, IN RESPONSE TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, Pope Leo XIII called for the working people of the world to unionize. "Some opportune remedy must be found quickly for the misery and wretchedness pressing so unjustly on the majority of the working class: for the ancient workingmen's guilds were abolished in the last century, and no other protective organization took their place," he wrote in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. While railing against socialism and unchecked capitalism alike, the pope called for workers to form "societies for mutual help." "The most important of all are workingmen's unions," he wrote.

More than 40 years later, on the heels of the Great Depression, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, guaranteeing the right of private-sector workers to unionize. But employees of churches are deemed exempt from the law, as are parochial school teachers, who were excluded by a 1979 Supreme Court decision. Some workers at religiously affiliated entities have also been excluded from discrimination protections in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Americans with Disabilities Act. But as

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the rights of religious entities have expanded, the shape of these entities has changed dramatically over time. A century ago, religious institutions were often church-funded charities that employed and served members of that religion, said Elizabeth Sepper, a professor at the University of Texas at Austin School of Law. “Today, that’s not what religious institutions look like, even in the nonprofit sector,” she said. When it comes to health care in particular, religious institutions tend to look much more like big businesses, paying their CEOs millions of dollars and charging patients high rates for care. Catholic hospitals control at least one in six acute-care beds nationwide.

In some cases, religious corporations or those with Christian owners have weaponized the federal Religious Freedom Restoration Act, a law intended to provide stronger protections for people to practice their religions, to justify firing or denying benefits to women and LGBTQ workers. Over 100 for-profit and nonprofit corporations filed challenges alleging violations of religious freedom over the Obama administration’s requirement that employees receive birth control coverage. But these corporations have pushed religious exemptions far beyond birth control. In 2017, after receiving briefs from the Becket Fund and right-wing powerhouses Alliance Defending Freedom and the Thomas More Society, the Supreme Court ruled that an exemption for “church plans” in the federal law protecting employee pension funds can apply to religiously affiliated hospitals. Other cases expanding the rights of religious employers have hinged on a constitutional principle called the ministerial exemption, which allows religious institutions to hire and fire ministers without regard for antidiscrimination law. In 2012 the Becket Fund scored a major victory when the Supreme Court ruled that under the exemption, a Lutheran school could fire a teacher with narcolepsy who had daily religious duties and a title that included the word “minister.” Becket has argued for an even broader application of the loophole in two cases now before the Supreme Court that involve teachers with more limited religious duties—one who said she was fired because of age discrimination and the other because she had breast cancer. The Trump administration issued a draft rule last year to let religiously affiliated federal contractors, including for-profit companies, fire workers who violate a company’s religious principles. Luke Goodrich, a vice president of the Becket Fund, cheered the decision, telling *The Washington Post*, “When a religious group says ‘Hey, we need you to be a Christian and adhere to Christian teachings,’ federal law has recognized that’s not discrimination.”

WHILE RELIGIOUS EXEMPTIONS HAVE WEAKENED their power, workers at Catholic institutions may have a unique advantage when it comes to union rights. “The church says workers have a right to organize and does not qualify that by saying only some groups of workers,” said Clayton Sinyai, the executive director of the Catholic Labor Network, a group of labor organizers, clergy, and social justice activists who promote Catholic teaching on labor. “So it’s quite possible for a worker not to have a protected legal right to organize under American labor law and yet the church would still recognize that they have a right to organize under



A century ago, religious institutions were often church-funded charities that employed and served members of their religion. Now many look like big businesses.

Patients first: Health care workers at Swedish-Providence Medical Center in Seattle went on strike in January to protest the hospital’s staffing levels and wages. They say the hospital isn’t honoring its Catholic values.

natural law or under church teaching.” The network keeps a tally of the more than 600 Catholic institutions with established unions, including 300 Catholic K–12 schools nationwide that have bargained with teachers, even though the Supreme Court has said they don’t have to.

Appealing to the Catholic mission of an institution has at times proved to be a winning strategy. In 2017, with their right to form a union in doubt under Trump, graduate students at Georgetown University, a Jesuit institution, asked it to voluntarily recognize their union. Georgetown has touted its Jesuit-inspired respect for workers as part of a just-employment policy issued in 2005, after students went on hunger strike and won a living wage for contract employees, including janitors and food service workers. “With hope and expectation that this institution will do the right thing, we call on Georgetown University to live up to its highest Jesuit values of promoting *cura personalis* [care of the whole person] and offering dignified work,” the graduate students wrote in their request for recognition.

At first, Georgetown rejected the union, claiming, as Boston College has done, that the graduate students were not workers—even though the union points out that the university relies on their labor as teaching and research assistants and instructors. So the organizers went on the offensive with a public campaign centered on Georgetown’s Jesuit mission. During the university’s celebration of Jesuit Heritage Week in 2018, they handed out flyers emblazoned with the hashtag *PracticeWhatYouPreach* and a quotation from Pope Francis: “There is no good society without a good union.”

“Pope Francis, whether he knows it or not, has been actually very helpful to us in providing quotes that we can use,” said Brent McDonnell, a history PhD candidate at Georgetown. The students planned to stage a mock award ceremony outside a Georgetown fundraiser, handing out fake prizes to cutouts of Georgetown officials to congratulate them for failing to live up to the university’s Jesuit mission. On the eve of the event, McDonnell said, Georgetown folded. “It was at this point that the university e-mailed us and said, ‘Don’t do this. We’ll talk next week about an election agreement.’”

Georgetown agreed to a union election overseen by a third-party arbitrator, without the involvement of Trump’s NLRB. The agreement ensured that Georgetown would



continue to recognize the union, regardless of what the NLRB concludes about the rights of graduate workers. Other Catholic entities should follow Georgetown's lead, said McCartin of the history department, who also directs the university's Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor.

"If these institutions don't want to be governed by the civil law, it's incumbent upon them to come up with their own rules that provide for ways and means through which workers can come together, if they choose to, and bargain with their employer," McCartin said. "In a sense, this is what Georgetown has done, and there's nothing that blocks any other institution from doing it."

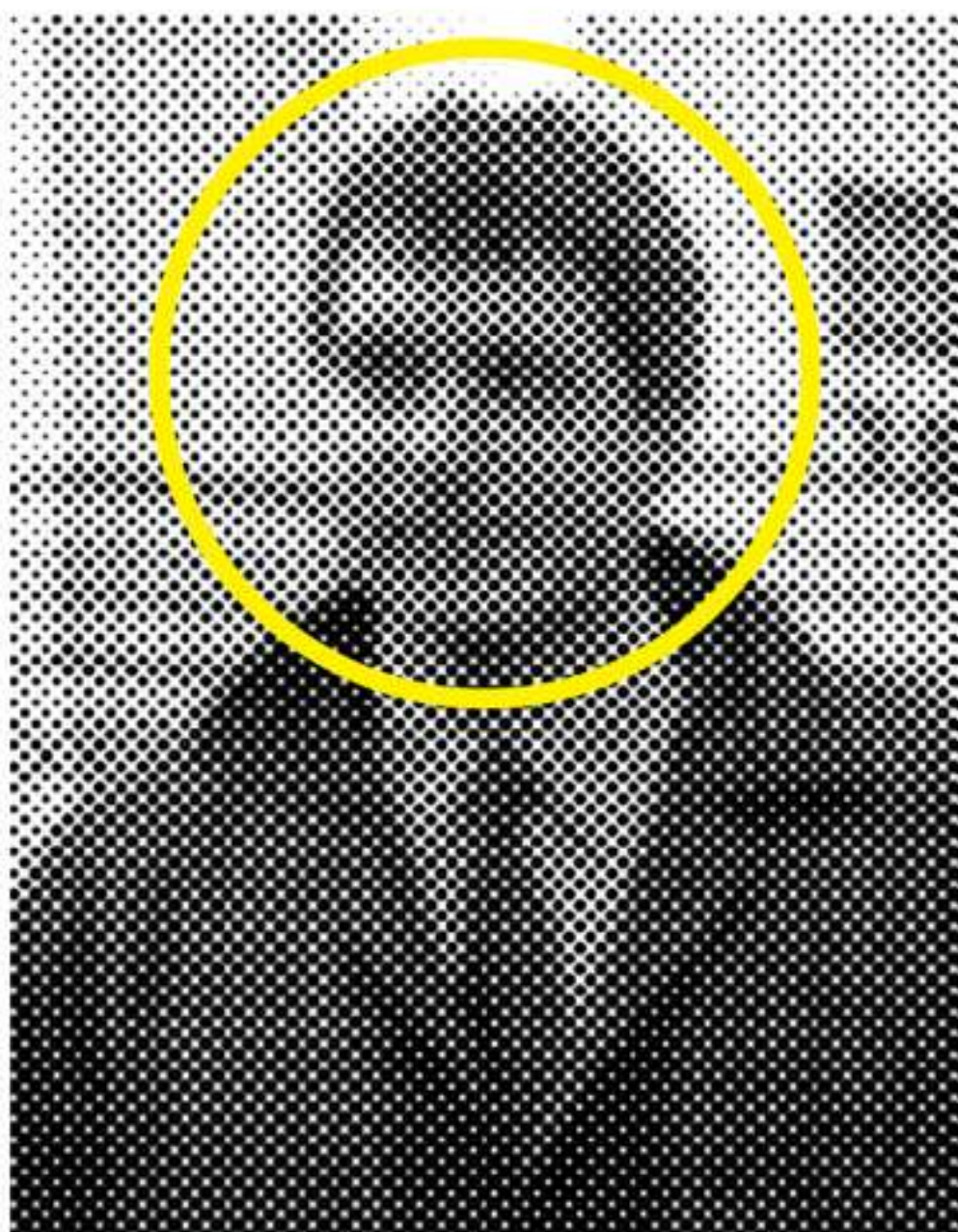
IN EVERETT, WASHINGTON, A CITY NORTH OF SEATTLE REELING from the coronavirus pandemic, workers at a hospice owned by the state's largest health care system, Providence Health & Services, have been fighting for a union contract since 2016. John Shannon, a social worker at the hospice who is Catholic, said he made a presentation during a bargaining session about the values of the Sisters of Providence, who in the 19th century founded the hospitals that evolved into Providence, now a multibillion-dollar corporation. "I said, 'I've had all these years of education through my master's degree in Catholic institutions, and I'm having a real hard time seeing how we're honoring these values in the current climate of a more business focus,'" he recalled. "One of the people on their bargaining committee...said, 'Well, we do a reflection before every meeting.' And that was it."

Catholic health systems like Providence follow directives issued by the US Conference of Catholic Bishops that are best known for prohibiting abortion, most forms of contraception, sterilization, and fertility treatments like in vitro fertilization. The rules have been used to turn patients away when they are bleeding and in pain from miscarriages and to cancel gender-affirming surgeries for transgender people. But a seemingly forgotten section of the directives requires Catholic hospitals to provide "recognition of the rights of employees to organize and bargain collectively without prejudice to the common good." The Providence workers say that's not happening. And while the NLRB does protect employees at religious health care facilities, they say that hasn't stopped their employer from slow-walking negotiations or, in the case of Providence workers at Swedish Medical Center in Seattle who went on strike in January, locking them out. As they fight for a living wage and increased staffing amid a spiraling pandemic, the Providence workers in Everett have support from another source outside the law: Sister Helen Brennan, a 70-year member of the hospital's founding order. Brennan, who also rallied in the rain with locked-out Swedish-Providence workers in January, said such solidarity is part of the Catholic mission of the Sisters, which the hospice workers understand, even if well-paid hospital executives may not. "They know what we were about and what our mission is about. It's about care for the people," she told *The Nation*. "And if you care for the people, you don't need million-dollar salaries."

Not all Catholic authority figures feel the same. The Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, after its delegation's visit to Boston College, refused to comment on the graduate union, saying it was "an issue that Boston College is handling directly." But Brennan, at least, seems to agree with the BC workers that even if the law has loopholes for religious institutions, the Catholic faith does not.

"For 129 years, the popes have said that all people, not just Catholics, have a right to unionize," Kyle McCaffery, a master's theology student at Boston College, said at the March rally. "Catholicism grants no religious exemption to this administration." ■

FROM HER



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ORE THAN A QUARTER-CENTURY ago, Steven Donziger, a young American human rights lawyer, joined the legal effort to force Texaco to clean up the Ecuadorian headwaters of the Amazon rain forest. Between 1972 and 1992, the company dumped toxic waste and spilled billions of gallons of oil-exposed water across 1,700 square miles, an area larger than Rhode Island. In response, a coalition of rural Ecuadorans in the Lago Agrio region sued the US oil giant, and Donziger signed on to help and soon became the lead attorney on the case.

0 TO HOUSE ARREST

Lawyer Steven Donziger **helped win a \$9.5 billion judgment for rain forest cleanup.**
Now Chevron wants revenge.

JAMES NORTH

From left, Steven Donziger, Toribio Aguinda of the Cofan tribe, and Rogelio Creolo of the Siona tribe walk to federal court in New York City in 1999.



In 2013, after a legal campaign that stretched across two continents, the 30,000 indigenous people and small farmers whom Donziger represented in a class-action lawsuit won a \$9.5 billion judgment in Ecuadorian courts against Chevron, which acquired Texaco in 2001. It was one of the largest financial judgments ever against an oil company. It looked like a historic warning to polluters across the Global South. Paul Paz y Miño, the associate director of the environmental group Amazon Watch, described it as “the most important corporate accountability case in history.”



Judge Lewis Kaplan took the nearly unprecedented step of appointing private attorneys to prosecute Donziger.

Fast-forward to today, and Donziger is under house arrest in New York City, forced to wear an ankle monitor. The lawyer, now 59, is fighting contempt charges. Meanwhile, his clients in Ecuador have received nothing from Chevron. Without that funding, they have no way to cleanse the poisoned soil or treat what they say is an elevated number of cancer cases.

The mainstream press has largely ignored the legal attacks against Donziger, but Chevron’s counter-offensive could endanger human rights and environmental work around the world. Donziger’s fate, Paz y Miño said, will set a precedent: “Whether it’s Chevron or BP or Shell or any other oil company, if you cannot hold them to account and the lawyer advocating for that case is personally attacked, who else is going to fight those kinds of cases?”

Chevron’s legal onslaught succeeded largely because of a single federal judge in New York named Lewis A. Kaplan. In 2014, Kaplan found Donziger and his Ecuadorian allies guilty of bribery and fraud, which makes it extremely difficult for the plaintiffs to collect their damages in the United States. Then Kaplan asked federal prosecutors in the Southern District of New York to bring criminal con-

“Whether it’s Chevron or any other oil company, if the lawyer advocating for that case is personally attacked, who else is going to fight those kinds of cases?”

—Paul Paz y Miño

Alberto Guerra, an Ecuadorian former judge who admitted to lying about his interactions with Donziger, was the target of outrage after he testified in support of Chevron.

tempt charges against Donziger for refusing to turn over his electronic devices, which contain communications with his clients. When the prosecutors declined, Kaplan appointed private attorneys to prosecute Donziger—a nearly unprecedented step by a federal judge.

Kaplan’s hostility toward Donziger has been on ample display in his 21st-floor wood-paneled courtroom in downtown New York for nearly a decade. At times, he has said the pollution case in Ecuador was “not a bona fide litigation” and dismissed the Lago Agrio residents as “so-called plaintiffs.”

Martin Garbus, the legendary human rights lawyer who is part of Donziger’s legal team, is 86 years old and has appeared at hundreds of trials, including in the Deep South during the segregation era. He told me that Kaplan’s treatment of Donziger is the worst he has ever witnessed. “In the courtroom, Kaplan displayed a rage, a fury, that he channeled against Steve,” Garbus said. “He tried to humiliate him. You wouldn’t have to be an expert on the law to recognize it. It was brutal. I’ve never seen a guy eviscerated the way Kaplan tried to eviscerate Steve.”

For his part, Donziger said he hopes the Ecuadorans and their lawyers will hold Chevron accountable. He is a tall man—6 feet, 4 inches—and has been pacing restlessly around his Upper West Side apartment, reading law briefs or talking with his contacts in Ecuador by phone. These days, the coronavirus has driven almost everyone into their homes, but Donziger has already spent months “detained in a small apartment not because we did anything wrong,” he said, “but because we were successful and did a lot of things right. Facing the loss of one’s liberty not because one committed a crime but because of something dark and unaccountable in the system is terrifying. It calls into question most everything I believe about our country and my role in it.”

In an open letter to his supporters last August, Donziger wrote, “I never knew when I started working on this case in 1993 that I would face jail for standing up for the rights of my clients, who have been victimized by what is probably the world’s worst oil pollution.... Quite simply, Judge Kaplan and Chevron are working in lockstep to try and destroy me and my clients.”

THE SAGA BEGAN IN THE 1980s, WHEN ECUADORANS in the rain forest started to protest Texaco’s contamination. The company left Ecuador in 1992, after having dumped crude oil, drilling muds, and an oily, watery mixture known as formation water into unlined waste pits—a procedure that has been outlawed in Texas since 1969. Texaco also released billions of gallons of oil-laced water into the rain forest’s streams and lakes, even though the standard procedure in the United States has long been to inject the potentially toxic compounds safely deep underground.

Five peer-reviewed scientific studies have shown an increased incidence of cancer and other health risks in



James North has reported from Africa, Latin America, and Asia for four decades.



Cofan women by a pool of oil in Ecuador. Texaco spilled billions of gallons of contaminated water in the country's Amazon region.

the area. (Chevron funded its own peer-reviewed study, which claimed to find no such cancer risk.)

About 20 grassroots organizations formed the Amazon Defense Coalition in the mid-1990s, and Donziger, a recent graduate of Harvard Law School, started representing the group in 1993. The Ecuadorans originally sued Texaco in the United States, but after years of delay, a federal judge in New York sent the case to Ecuador in 2001. More than a decade later, Chevron lost. Three levels of Ecuadoran courts up to the Supreme Court ratified the verdict and awarded the plaintiffs \$9.5 billion. (Though even if Chevron honored the decision, none of the rain forest residents would receive a check. Instead, the Amazon Defense Coalition would use the money to scour the soil of toxins and build treatment centers for cancer patients.)

Chevron defended itself at every stage of the proceedings in Ecuador, and for years it never challenged the legitimacy of the process. But in 2010 it changed strategies. Chevron launched a countersuit in a New York federal court, alleging that Donziger and his allies had committed bribery and fraud in Ecuador to win the case. The company invoked the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, originally designed to prosecute the Mafia, and in 2011, Kaplan presided over a new trial. Donziger and the Ecuadoran codefendants expected that such serious charges would be tried before a jury, but at the last minute, Chevron dropped its demand for monetary damages. Under RICO law, this meant Donziger

and the others lost their right to appear before a jury and Kaplan alone would decide the facts of the case. Charles Nesson, a Harvard law professor, wrote recently in the *Harvard Law Record* that “Chevron amended its demands to cheat Donziger out of a jury.”

From the beginning of the RICO trial, Kaplan made his pro-business outlook clear. He lauded Chevron as “a company of considerable importance to our economy that employs thousands all over the world, that supplies a group of commodities—gasoline, heating oil, other fuels, and lubricants—on which every one of us depends every single day. I don’t think there is anybody in this courtroom who wants to pull his car into a gas station to fill up and finds that there isn’t any gas there.”

During the case, Chevron claimed that Donziger and his clients had bribed the original trial judge in Ecuador. Chevron’s star witness was Alberto Guerra, a former judge who lost his position on the Ecuadoran bench because of corruption accusations and later, in testimony before an international trade tribunal, admitted to lying about his interactions with Donziger. The oil giant acknowledged paying Guerra and moving him and his family to a secret location in the United States. In all, Donziger estimated that Chevron has spent \$2 million on the ex-judge.

Chevron’s lawyers rehearsed Guerra’s testimony with him 53 times and then put him on the stand in front of Kaplan. In his testimony, the disgraced ex-judge asserted that Donziger and an Ecuadoran lawyer, Pablo Fajardo,

“[Judge Kaplan] tried to humiliate him. I’ve never seen a guy eviscerated the way Kaplan tried to eviscerate Steve.”

—Martin Garbus



Protesters in New York City, some with symbolically oil-stained hands, demonstrate against Chevron in 2013.

had offered him a \$500,000 bribe and that Donziger and Fajardo had ghostwritten the final judgment against Chevron. Nicolás Zambrano, the judge who had rendered the decision in Ecuador, denied Guerra's testimony, but Kaplan accepted Guerra's account, dismissed Zambrano, and found Donziger and his Ecuadoran colleagues guilty in 2014.

Chevron's legal offensive is an example of a Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation, or SLAPP, suit. Over the past few decades, corporations have brought an increasing number of SLAPP suits against environmental and human rights groups. The idea is to spend so much money that your underfunded opponents are forced to give up. The oil giant presumably also has a related aim: to prevent the plaintiffs from ever collecting their cleanup money. Kaplan's verdict in the RICO case means Chevron can refuse to pay them in the United States. Chevron has long since sold its remaining holdings in Ecuador, so now Donziger and the Amazon Defense Front have to chase the corporation to other countries where it still does business. Chevron's lawyers are already trying to use the New York RICO judgment to discredit legal efforts against the company in Canada and elsewhere.

Kaplan's persecution of Donziger did not stop after the RICO verdict. Donziger faces criminal contempt charges because he has so far refused to turn over his

personal computer and cell phone to Chevron, as Kaplan ordered him to do last March. Donziger said in a press release that he is defending his clients, because his electronic communications would give Chevron's lawyers "backdoor access to spy on everything we are planning, thinking, and doing." He said he wants to wait until the US Court of Appeals hears his defense, after which he will promptly hand over his computer and phone if the higher court confirms Kaplan's directive.

Sean Comey, Chevron's senior adviser on corporate issues, litigation, and financial communications, declined to comment for this article. As a result, I was unable to ask him a series of questions, including: Is your company still paying Guerra for his cooperation? How much is it continuing to spend on the legal case? Why do attorneys representing Chevron appear at every hearing against Donziger, even ones that don't involve the oil company? And what is Chevron's role, if any, in the multiple legal attacks against Donziger?

"This is the mentality of imperialism, saying that we don't have the capacity to make decisions about our own lives."

—Luis Yanza

MEANWHILE, RESIDENTS IN THE AMAZON rain forest live and work on poisoned land. Donziger cautions that their plight must remain the center of the case. He works closely with Luis Yanza, the elected leader of the Amazon Defense Coalition and a lifelong defender of the environment; in 2008,

Yanza won the prestigious Goldman Environmental Prize, an award for frontline activists. Donziger and Yanza have talked and e-mailed regularly for more than 25 years, and Donziger, who is fluent in Spanish, estimated that he has visited Ecuador 250 times to consult with his clients.

Yanza told me that cancer continues to afflict people in the rain forest. “I visited several of our communities just last weekend, and each one had two or three cases of cancer, including a girl,” he said. And there is no adequate treatment facility in the Lago Agrio area, he added. “The closest cancer treatment center is in Quito, which is seven to 12 hours by bus, depending on where you live.”

He is indignant about the attacks on Donziger. “Steven is totally the opposite of how Chevron portrays him,” Yanza said. “He’s dedicated his life—a great part of his life—to defending people in our poor communities.” Yanza also dismissed the insinuations of critics that Donziger is manipulating the unsophisticated rain forest inhabitants. “This is the mentality of imperialism, saying that we don’t have the capacity to think and to act, to make decisions about our own lives. Steven and others in the United States do provide technical and legal help, but the fundamental decisions are made by us here.”

Donziger’s critics say that he is mainly after his percentage of the judgment, that he’s an ambulance-chasing attorney who found his way to the rain forest. But if that were true, wouldn’t Donziger have given up by now? Surely he would have cut his losses, dusted off his Harvard Law diploma, and found another potential money-making scheme. Instead, he has remained under house arrest for nearly eight months.

Donziger is also fighting to get his law license reinstated. (It was suspended in 2018 without a hearing, based on Kaplan’s findings in the contempt case.) In September and October, he appeared several times at a New York Bar Association hearing in lower Manhattan, before a polite referee named John Horan. The cramped, low-ceilinged hearing room was filled with human rights lawyers and environmentalists who support Donziger—as well as a few conservatively dressed attorneys representing Chevron. A parade of witnesses testified to Donziger’s honesty and integrity, including Rex Weyler, a founder of Greenpeace; Roger Waters of the rock band Pink Floyd; and Simon Taylor, one of the directors of Global Witness, the influential international anti-corruption organization. On February 24, Horan found in Donziger’s favor and recommended that his law license be restored. Horan, a former prosecutor, sharply criticized Chevron’s vendetta, writing, “The extent of [Donziger’s] pursuit by Chevron is so extravagant, and at this point so unnecessary and punitive, [that] while not a factor in my recommendation, [it] is nonetheless background to it.” Horan’s decision



Luis Yanza, the elected leader of the Amazon Defense Coalition, speaks at a protest against Chevron in 2008.

“For 25 years, Mr. Donziger has had his skin, his heart, and his soul in this cause.”

—Andrew Frisch

Steven Donziger addresses a press conference in Ecuador in 2014. Today he’s under house arrest.

must now be reviewed by a New York state court.

On November 25, Donziger appeared before Senior US District Judge Loretta Preska, who will preside over his criminal contempt trial, to ask that his confinement be ended and replaced by an \$800,000 bail bond, guaranteed by a number of his supporters. His attorney, Andrew Frisch, reminded the court that Donziger has a family and is not likely to abandon it to flee the United States. What’s more, Frisch pointed out, doing so would mean abandoning his clients in Ecuador. “For 25 years,” he noted, “Mr.

Donziger has had his skin, his heart, and his soul in this cause, which is bigger than him.”

In the end, Preska turned down the request. “Mr. Donziger has ties to Ecuador, we know, indeed, to high-ranking government officials,” she said. “We know he has traveled to Ecuador on numerous, numerous occasions.... I find that he remains a flight risk, and accordingly, the request to eliminate monitoring and home confinement is denied.”

Donziger’s trial isn’t scheduled to begin until June 15. He is again challenging his home detention, but he could remain confined to his apartment until then. If this effort fails, he will have spent more than 300 days under house arrest.

Donziger described what it’s like to live under these circumstances. “Sleep is difficult because my ankle bracelet actually blinks and talks,” he said. “A voice reminds me to recharge the battery, which allows the state to monitor my every movement.” The bracelet is “like a giant black claw that clings to your lower leg. It’s designed to be a constant reminder of your banishment, to disorient you psychologically. Of course,” he added, “Chevron and Judge Kaplan want me to be consumed with my survival—rather than helping the indigenous people of Ecuador collect their judgment.” ■



(continued from page 15)

unprecedented in scope this far from an election.” He says this ambitious organizing at the neighborhood level in Milwaukee and other communities statewide—framing agendas at the grass roots and empowering “messengers with local credibility” to deliver them—will give the Democratic nominee a head start. If organizing can go door to door in the fall, it will. If it has to be virtual, so be it. No matter the challenges, once the ticket is chosen, he promises, it will be time to “hit the turbo button.” If the candidates complement this strategy by focusing on Wisconsin in their messaging and, where possible, in their campaigning, the pieces, he says, will come together.

§ *Reconnect with rural Wisconsin*: As veteran Democratic activist Charlie Uphoff points out, “Trump didn’t win Wisconsin because of who showed up in 2016. He won because of who *didn’t* show up.” A huge portion of the Democratic drop-off came in rural Wisconsin.

Consider Walworth County, a Republican-leaning bastion of small towns and farms where Trump won 56.1 percent of the ballots and a 10,153-vote majority in 2016—almost half of the Republicans’ statewide margin of 22,748 votes. But the Democrats didn’t always perform so miserably in the county. In 2008, Obama received 48 percent of the vote there. In 2012 he still attracted 43 percent. What happened in 2016?

In the last presidential election, the overall turnout in Walworth County was down a bit from 2012, but the decline was not evenly shared: Trump received 143 fewer votes than Mitt Romney did in 2012, while Clinton got 3,802 fewer votes than Obama. The Democrats don’t have to carry every rural county. They don’t even have to flip Trump voters. They just have to get their traditional voters to the polls and attract some new ones, especially young people.

They can do that by highlighting Trump’s whipsawing of farmers as part of his trade negotiations and more generally by discussing farm issues, says Jim Goodman, who farmed for 40 years in western Wisconsin and is now president of the National Family Farm Coalition. He argues that Biden must talk a lot more about farm issues in his campaign and the party has to write a platform that devotes more than just a few dozen words to rural and small-town concerns, as was the case in 2016.

This is about paying attention to the reality that underemployed and underinsured rural voters have pressing needs that too frequently go unaddressed. “The right wing spends a lot of time trying to sow disunity between communities that don’t see much of each other,” Epps-Addison says. “The way to counter that is to have a campaign that seeks to unite folks on what we have in common—the fact that more and more folks are struggling in this economy, the fact that more and more folks are worried about how they can afford health care. We know the issues. We just have to think about how to speak to them in ways that connect with people where they live.”

That is going to require candidates who get it and a program that speaks in compelling terms to Wisconsin. It is also going to require the resources to deliver that message at the doors of the disengaged, disenfranchised, and disappointed people whose votes can expand the electorate and create a winning coalition. Where will the money come from? Pocan has what is perhaps the best suggestion. “Don’t just throw money up on TV so that consultants get rich,” he says. “It can’t be about ads. This isn’t a 30-second discussion. This is about reconnecting with people who may not have voted last time and connecting with people who may be voting for the first time. That’s how you win Wisconsin.” ■

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Books & the Arts



THE COLLECTIVE BODY

Russian experiments in life after death

by SOPHIE PINKHAM

“stand against confiscatory taxes, totalitarian collectives, and the ideology of the inevitability of the death of every individual,” venture capitalist Peter Thiel declared in his 2009 essay “The Education of a Libertarian.” His opposition to taxes and totalitarian collectives is hardly surprising; his ongoing campaign against human mortality is a bit more quixotic. For Thiel, death is just another obstacle to be overcome by

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the synergy of extraordinary wealth and cutting-edge technology.

Thiel’s vision can’t be called utopian, because it’s about no one but him. According to one of the more scandalous reports on his quest to live forever, he was considering injections of young people’s blood in an effort to slow the aging process, a service offered by a California company called Ambrosia. The story caught fire not only because of the dubious efficacy of the procedure but also because it looked like a literal expression of vampiric capitalism: the youth and strength of the poor har-

vested for the benefit of the ultrarich. This dystopian scenario was merely an exaggerated version of the grotesquely unequal US health care system, in which the wealthy buy longevity while the poor die prematurely for lack of basic care.

Thiel is not the first to explore the idea of life-extending blood transfusions. In fact, this practice has its origins in a truly utopian and egalitarian, if even more biologically suspect, experiment. Aleksandr Bogdanov, a prominent early Bolshevik and science fiction writer, investigated the rejuvenating properties

of blood transfusions in the 1920s, though he soon died after exchanging blood with a tubercular student. As anthropologist Anya Bernstein discusses in *The Future of Immortality: Remaking Life and Death in Contemporary Russia*, Bogdanov's hope was not merely to prolong the lives of individuals; he envisioned a sanguine communism in which all were granted an equal share of society's collective health through blood exchanges. In his popular 1908 sci-fi novel *Red Star*, a revolutionary Russian scientist travels to Mars and visits a communist society that has eliminated inequality—not just in property but also in health and strength—as well as gender binaries. The happy Martians participate in regular blood exchanges that extend their lives and break down the barriers among them.

Bogdanov's ideal of “physiological collectivism,” as he called it, didn't make his experiments any less dangerous on a biological level (as he tragically discovered). But his project was a libertarian's nightmare and a far cry from a model in which a rich few purchase the blood of the impoverished many. In *The Future of Immortality*, we meet a number of Bogdanov's heirs, Russians who hope to extend life for all of humankind. Many are adamant in their commitment to collective transcendence, and some even have government funding. Their projects are often ludicrous from a scientific perspective, but Bernstein isn't concerned with that. Instead, she seeks to understand what these Russian ways of “remaking life and death” reveal about human efforts to “bring the future into the present,” even as the future turns into an increasingly scary place.

The story of the Russian battle against death begins in the second half of the 19th century, when the country was in a state of entropy. Writers like Nikolai Chernyshevsky, the author of *What Is to Be Done?*, were imagining new modes of communal, egalitarian living, while revolutionary activists and terrorists sought to eradicate the old class hierarchies. In this heady atmosphere, the Russian quest for immortality was born. At Moscow's central library, Nikolai Fedorov, a teacher turned philosopher-librarian, was writing feverish treatises on a form of collective life that could transcend both time and death.

Fedorov believed that if humankind could train its full energy on the struggle to live forever, all war and other forms of conflict would vanish. He called this proj-

The Future of Immortality

Remaking Life and Death in Contemporary Russia

By Anya Bernstein

Princeton University Press. 296 pp. \$75

ect the “common cause.” Just as he worked as a librarian to preserve the books in his care so they would be available to future generations, so too could humankind work to preserve each person in a library of eternal life. Every human being was a unique and precious repository of information and experiences, and Fedorov wanted to ensure that they would all remain available in perpetuity.

Fedorov's ambition was not limited to those still living. He imagined resurrecting every person who had ever lived. Inverting the idea of the duty of the living to future generations, he argued that we owe a “resurrectory debt” to our parents, and he insisted that as technology advanced, we would pay off this debt by piecing our families back together from bones and even specks of dust. (A crackpot visionary rather than a scientist, he was short on specifics about how we might do this.) To solve the problem of housing the vast resurrected population, he looked to space, proposing the colonization of the galaxy—a hope shared by people like Thiel and Elon Musk today. But Fedorov imagined the work and benefits of immortality as collective and universal. He accumulated a number of followers during his lifetime and after his death, and his reputation as an eccentric visionary endures in Russia.

Leaping into the future to resurrect the past, Fedorov's theories were a strange start for Soviet and Russian technofuturism. But nostalgia often lies at the heart of grand visions of the future. The Narodniki, followers of the movement from which many early Russian revolutionaries emerged, celebrated the traditional peasant commune as the seed of socialism. The fear of destruction can be another powerful motivator. In our moment of belated panic over the climate crisis, it might be surprising to learn from Bernstein that the potential end of a habitable planet was also discussed in Fedorov's time. The second law of thermodynamics, according to which entropy in a closed system never decreases, was postulated in the mid-19th century and soon resulted in predictions of the universe's eventual “heat death.”

This “secular eschatology,” as Bernstein calls it, and the loss of faith in Earth's immortality prompted a deep anxiety among

some European intellectuals. Darwin wrote that it was “an intolerable thought that [humans] and all other sentient beings are doomed to complete annihilation after such long-continued slow progress.” One of the characters in Dostoevsky's *The Adolescent* asked, reasonably enough, “Why should I unequivocally love my neighbor or your future mankind, which I'll never get to see, which won't know about me and which in turn will turn into dust, leaving not a single trace or memory behind... when the Earth [becomes] an icy rock and [flies] off into the void with an infinite number of similar icy rocks?” (Not everyone bought the theory. In an 1869 letter to Marx, Engels denounced the notion of the planet's heat death; dialectical materialism demanded an indestructible universe.) Fedorov's theories promised to restore meaning and purpose to existence—to overcome the death of the individual, of humankind, and of the planet.

The focus on human extinction also began to yield real scientific results. Among those who studied at Fedorov's library was an impoverished young autodidact named Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, who went on to prove the possibility of spaceflight through his calculations for liquid-propellant rockets. Although his proof was rejected by serious journals, it eventually became the basis for Soviet rocket design through the efforts of amateur spaceflight enthusiasts beginning in the 1930s. Like Fedorov, Tsiolkovsky wanted to “help humans populate the universe” in preparation for the moment when Earth became uninhabitable. Journeys into space were only one step in the creation of a more perfect version of humanity in which, as Tsiolkovsky explained, human bodies would be transformed into radiation, allowing all human beings to merge “into the radiant state of a higher order.” Fedorov's ideas were suffused with his devout Russian Orthodox faith, making them a bad fit for the atheist Soviet Union. Tsiolkovsky, on the other hand, offered a more scientific approach to space exploration and the transcendence of human boundaries and was therefore far more palatable. He became a hero, the founding father of cosmonautics.

Fedorov's writings were eventually banned in the USSR because of their religious content and their general dissonance with Soviet doctrine. But in part for this very reason, his ideas continued to percolate. In the 1960s and '70s, “Moscow's Socrates” was resurrected by a new generation of dissidents. Intrigued by his link to the

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(SOUND FAMILIAR?)

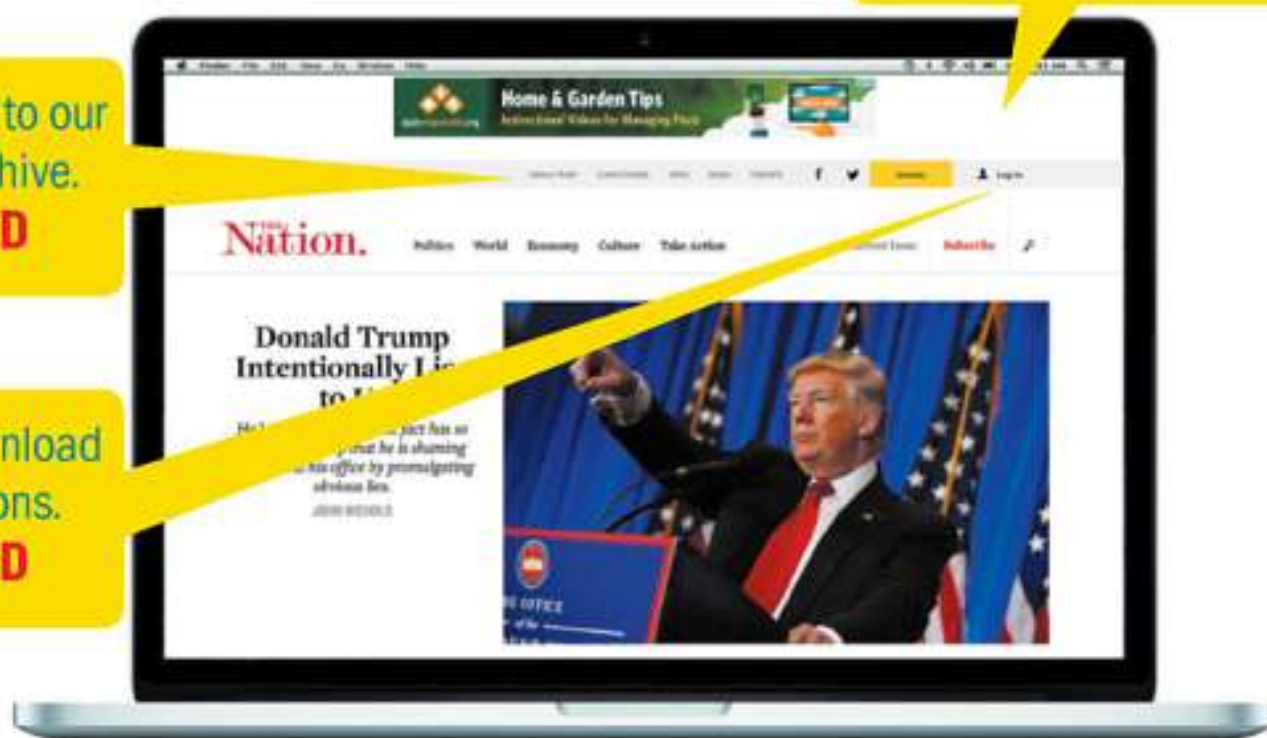
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Soviet space program and by forbidden spiritual matters more generally, some members of the Soviet underground took up the study of his ideas. A young woman named Svetlana Semenova wrote a samizdat text on him and then published her work legally after official censorship loosened.

Deeply religious, Semenova considered Fedorov's teachings to be "the only meaningful advance made by Christianity since antiquity," in Bernstein's words, pairing futurism with a faith in spiritual immortality. She viewed the discovery of DNA as confirmation of her theory that every particle of the body carries an imprint of the soul. In the 1980s, as Soviet citizens watched the TV funerals of one Communist Party general secretary after another, Semenova

indoctrinated her teenage daughters with a firm belief in resurrection. The planet hadn't died, but by 1991, the Soviet Union had. As they watched the spectacle unfold, she and her daughters imagined eternal life.

The *Future of Immortality* opens with a wonderfully vivid scene that illustrates how the legacy of Fedorov, Bogdanov, and Tsiolkovsky has become the nostalgic futurism of the new millennium. It's 2012, and a few dozen people have gathered in front of Moscow's Karl Marx statue for a demonstration:

A middle-aged man held a poster demanding "Old People Should Live." Others read, "We Are for Regen-

erative Medicine" and "I Want to Be a GMO." One young man rode a futuristic-looking electric unicycle around the giant rock slab with Marx's torso emerging out of it, held up by the inscription "Proletarians of the world, unite!" A fifty-something woman walked by with a sign declaring "We Are for Immortality."

The Soviet Union is a thing of the past, but Marx is still standing. Moscow may be filled with creative professionals and entrepreneurs who click-clack on MacBook Pros in Instagram-ready coffee shops, but not every Russian has renounced utopias or embraced the new order. One of the speakers at this Rally for Radical Life Extension is Anastasia Gacheva, who is Semenova's daughter. Gacheva followed in her mother's footsteps and is now the face of Cosmism, as Fedorov's philosophy is called. She runs the Fedorov Society, which holds regular open seminars at the Fedorov Museum-Library in southern Moscow.

"All social doctrines...all the social utopias humanity has tried to achieve have stumbled up against the short-breathedness of man," Gacheva tells the crowd. "The utopias stumbled on man's deepest misfortune, which is his mortality. Mortal man cannot be made happy. This is why communism did not succeed." Needless to say, this is a novel diagnosis of communism's failure. It wasn't the command economy, the Cold War, or growing popular resistance that brought the Soviet Union down but rather the failure to achieve eternal life. Until all people unite in the common cause—the struggle against death—the world will be rife with conflict, whether or not the state professes itself a utopia.

Reflecting on her upbringing in a conversation with Bernstein, Gacheva makes it clear that she and her family were not Soviet apologists but that she values the way the USSR "fostered a collectivist consciousness, put a value on friendship and mutual aid...qualities that are important for society and for any collective undertaking." Her parents, who struggled to publish under Soviet censorship, were poor, but that wasn't really a problem. "We were fine," she recalls. "In the Soviet period...it was even shameful to be rich." This is, of course, hardly the case in post-Soviet Russia, with its dwindling social safety net and rampant inequality. Bernstein notes that at least one of the participants in the Fedorov seminars is occasionally homeless.

The Cosmists of today are vintage fu-

love poem (you're a little too good at speaking on my behalf)

you're a little too good at speaking on my behalf
at the holiday dinner I sit between you
my mother, her husband, reproduction
everywhere and wonder why we pass
or do we pass? for what? lumpen, wifeish
I know when they ask now tell us
what's been going on at work they can't listen.
only men have jobs. why do I care. even though
we agreed on this tactic in the car on the way there
or after we fucked in the bed my sister grew up in
next door to a brass headboard I leaned against
as a child and had bad dreams about touching myself
or being touched as I came, it still feels horrible.

I love to talk
I really love to talk

I like to appear as a person

STEPHANIE YOUNG

tourists, many of them elderly. Despite the vast medical and technological advances that have occurred since Fedorov's day, they pursue their passion through philosophical debate and exhaustive analysis of his writings. Though they advocate for life extension research and maintain some ties with other, more scientifically oriented groups, the Cosmists do not engage in much practical activity. They are holdovers from an era when pure theorizing was considered a viable means of transforming reality. The exigencies of post-Soviet life will likely make it difficult for their movement to survive.

Other Russian life-extensionist groups are (somewhat) more practical and scientifically minded. The next speaker we meet at the rally is Valerija Pride. Though she is a militant atheist, she and Gacheva are friendly and regularly exchange ideas. They are, after all, united in Fedorov's common cause. Trained as a physicist in the Soviet days, Pride is the director of KrioRus, Russia's first cryonics company, which she founded in 2006 with an economist and a biophysicist. The trio's primary goal was to offer free or low-cost cryonics for the relatives and pets of activists. In 2008, Pride froze her mother. Like Gacheva, Pride retains some fondness for the Soviet ways. When she informs Bernstein that KrioRus has just frozen four people in a single month, she adds excitedly, "That means society is ready for this. Maybe because we're used to grand projects—the Soviet Union, the exploration of space."

Unlike the Soviet space program, however, KrioRus is a shoestring operation, staffed mostly by volunteers. Its storage facility, at a volunteer's dacha plot an hour outside Moscow, consists of a simple concrete and metal structure with two dewars. Named for James Dewar, the inventor of the thermos, these insulated vacuum vats currently hold 71 patients from 15 countries, as well as 19 cats, 10 dogs, four birds, four hamsters, two rabbits, and a chinchilla. Would-be cryopatients make arrangements in advance so that KrioRus can take charge of their bodies at the moment of death, cooling them to -196 degrees Celsius and replacing their blood with cryoprotectant. The patients are then placed in a dewar to await the invention of technologies necessary for a "gut renovation." The international scientific consensus remains deeply skeptical of cryonics' promise, but Bernstein doesn't mention this fact. She's interested in the ideological and cultural aspects of cryonics, not its medical feasibility.

Regardless of their scientific credibility,

KrioRus's activities have provoked much ideological and theological debate, especially among the facility's neighbors, who fear that they will "soon be invaded by zombies, animated corpses, or the soulless living dead." In Russian Orthodox tradition, the soul leaves the body 40 days after death, which makes cryonic "corpse storage" appalling to believers. Cryonicists are not troubled by the prospect of zombies; they consider death to occur in stages. Only when the body has begun to decompose is the process complete. In their view, selfhood resides in the brain and its memories, so preservation of the brain is preservation of the self. For this reason, KrioRus offers two options: freezing the whole body or just the brain. The second option is about

66 percent cheaper and avoids quarrels with relatives and priests, since the body can be buried with the signs of brain extraction concealed. It is also considered "more advanced ideologically," as it implies agreement with the idea that personality consists entirely of long-term memories stored in the brain.

KrioRus is the world's third-largest cryonics company and the only one outside the United States. Though early Russian scientists researched anabiosis, or suspension by freezing, and despite the epic preservation of Lenin's corpse, the idea of freezing the dead in the hope of reanimating them later found more popularity in the United States than in the Soviet Union or Russia. Is KrioRus simply an effort to import this

Lyric

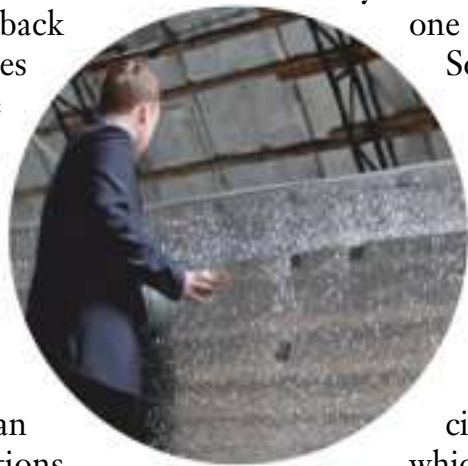
Every terror is an angle
through which
waiting for the universal
proves vain
is the new fruitful
you said.
I said how long
must lyric prevent us
from saying
what needs
no meaning.
I said I am looking
for an ending
without words.
You said here
let me gift you.
This endlessness is on me.

ZOHAR ATKINS

big American business to Russia? Bernstein argues that KrioRus is profoundly different from the more profit-oriented American cryonics companies because it was founded as a kind of cooperative endeavor (and a nongovernmental organization) and because it represents “a form of long-term and intergenerational caregiving.” Those who sign up entrust KrioRus and future generations with the care of their bodies, she continues, putting their faith in the continuation of society and in the promise that living people will maintain the vats and bring the frozen back to life whenever it becomes possible. In the best-case scenario for cryonics, the living will fulfill Fedorov’s ideal of “filial duty” by resurrecting their forebears.

This part of Bernstein’s argument is somewhat shaky, since American cryonics (which she mentions only in passing) has been heavily focused on the preservation of relatives, especially parents, and since any people who agree to be frozen inevitably put their trust in future generations. But KrioRus’s collaboration (as at the Rally for Radical Life Extension) and philosophical disputes with the Cosmists do give Russian cryonics a special flavor. When Semenova, the grande dame of Cosmism, was dying, KrioRus offered her a free place in one of its dewars. Her daughter declined on her behalf, citing a desire to remain faithful to Fedorov’s vision of universal immortality. Semenova was not categorically opposed to cryonics, but she was unwilling to participate until it became a socialized and universal practice. Until the very end, she remained adamant that the pursuit of immortality was meaningful only if it included everyone.

The Cosmists represent an older way of imagining immortality in Russia. KrioRus stands for a version that is more global and less socialist, albeit one that is still informed by the distinctive egalitarian legacy of Cosmism, of Bogdanov’s physiological collectivism, and of Soviet hopes to transform the human race. Unlike the Soviet projects, however, Cosmism and KrioRus are small, independent entities, without substantial resources or government backing. After examining these scrappier efforts, Bernstein turns her attention to more profit-minded start-ups, some of which are backed by the Russian state.



When the Soviet Union fell, the Russian government found itself badly in need of a “national idea” to guide the much-diminished country into the future. The search prompted widespread discussion in the government and media. So far, the leading options have focused on the past, notably in the ever more grandiose celebrations of victory in World War II. But some Russians feel that their country would be better off looking to the future, as the Soviets did—for example, by reinvigorating the space program, one of the greatest sources of Soviet pride, or by helping to create a new and improved human being.

The Russian state has come around to this idea as well. The organization NeuroNet, for example, has received funding from Russia’s Presidential Council. Part of the Foresight Fleet, which is sponsored by the Russian state and charged with the search for national technological ideas, NeuroNet is focused on human enhancement rather than immortality. The project’s founders imagine connecting the entire human race using neurointerfaces, essentially linking brains directly. Timour Shchoukine, one of its leading members, envisions a world in which neurointerfaces allow humankind to solve problems together—a more direct and comprehensive version of the hive mind—and thus overcome the difficulties caused by failures of communication.

NeuroNet acknowledges that its plan poses its own dangers. The impossibility of concealment could lead to a host of terrible conflicts—social, political, martial, marital—as every tactless thought is revealed. Other dangers include the risk of a generation that never learns how to read or communicate verbally, the possibility of hackers entering your brain and stealing its contents, and the near certainty of corporate and government abuse of this power, including mind control. Bernstein deems the last threat particularly alarming in light of the extensive sponsorship of NeuroNet by the Russian government, which has proved willing to jail its citizens on the basis of Facebook posts. But NeuroNet cocreator Pavel Luksha tells Bernstein that at this point, humankind has little left to lose: “We’ve already created a situation where we will either break through to *over there* or become extinct as a species.”

The idea of a neurological interface is neither new nor distinctively Russian, but

NeuroNet’s vision of collective transcendence is in keeping with the Russian tradition that Bernstein identifies. Of all the contemporary projects she examines, it is also arguably the most radical. As Luksha, who was inspired by Tsiolkovsky and his vision of the radiant state, explains:

We will see the emergence of a true collective consciousness, where people have no borders separating their self from the selves of others. Where did this thought come from, how did this emotion arise?... It will be such that people in these communities will feel themselves as one body.

As the climate crisis escalates, visions of annihilation and resurrection have assumed new urgency, moving beyond the realm of the human and peering deeper into the past. Pleistocene Park, which Bernstein mentions in passing, is a project in Arctic Siberia intended to restore the steppe ecosystem that existed there during the Pleistocene. A grassy steppe should not only reflect more light (and thus absorb less heat) than an expanse of trees and shrubs, but it should also freeze more quickly in the winter. Theoretically, it could slow the disastrous, greenhouse-gas-emitting thaw of the permafrost that accounts for more than half of Russia’s territory. Extending and maintaining a vast new steppe requires the continuous tramping and tree felling of large herbivores, the kind that earlier humans hunted to extinction. Pleistocene Park’s director has been importing bison, horses, musk oxen, and other species, and he hopes to add the woolly mammoth, which went extinct about 4,000 years ago. This ambitious and perhaps fanciful project is the fruit of a Russian-American collaboration. Harvard geneticist George Church is attempting to edit the genome of the Asian elephant to make it resemble the woolly mammoth’s. He hopes to deliver within the next decade. What would Fedorov think?

Silicon Valley’s technological advances may have brought us closer to a world of neurointerfaces, but its ventures have done far more to hasten climate change than to mitigate it. Thiel, a fracking enthusiast and critic of global carbon-emission restrictions, dreams of buying off death and leaving for space—but where will the rest of us live? The Cosmists are right about one thing, at least: The battle against extinction can only be a collective endeavor. ■



WHO GETS TO SAVE THE WORLD?

Margaret Atwood's dystopian imagination

by KATHERINE HILL

What possesses writers to revisit their previously published material? Walt Whitman famously composed *Leaves of Grass* for much of his life, adding, cutting, renaming, and regrouping poems across nine editions from 1855 to 1892. In 1925, Virginia Woolf gave the titular Mrs. Dalloway—a flat, conservative minor character from her first novel, *The Voyage Out*—a radical interiority. And late last year, Margaret Atwood delivered a sequel to her best-known novel, *The Handmaid's Tale*.

Published in 1985, *The Handmaid's Tale*

Katherine Hill teaches English at Adelphi University. Her new novel, *A Short Move*, is coming in June.

depicts life in the authoritarian Christian Republic of Gilead (formerly the United States), a place where the female intellect is violently repressed and fertile women, such as the narrator, Offred, are separated from their families and forced to bear children for the barren elite. The novel introduces her in the throes of daily life, denied even the right to read, and ends with her in the back of a van, in the hands of either the secret police or the underground liberation movement. (She doesn't know for sure which.) There is a historical coda, but Offred's fate is not disclosed—an appropriate ending for a novel in which isolation and uncertainty are the dominant conditions.

Now, more than three decades after refusing closure, Atwood seeks resolution,

returning to the landscape of her iconic dystopia in *The Testaments*. There are obvious commercial reasons for this. Widely assigned in high schools and universities for years, *The Handmaid's Tale* is now a hit TV series with nearly ubiquitous imagery and nomenclature. Liberal activists and pundits invoke Gilead as a warning for the real world, and the signature Handmaid's uniform—a formless red gown with a winged white bonnet—has been used at women's marches and abortion ban protests throughout the world. The discourse surrounding the book is far more literal than the novel itself, with many commentators going so far as to declare Atwood a prophet and Donald Trump's America Gilead.

Atwood used to dismiss the notion that

ILLUSTRATION BY ANDREA VENTURA

her fiction was “secretly telling the truth,” but *The Testaments* suggests she’s changed her mind. “Dear Readers,” she writes in a promotional letter. “Everything you’ve ever asked me about Gilead and its inner workings is the inspiration for this book. Well, almost everything! The other inspiration is the world we’ve been living in.” In exposing those inner workings, *The Testaments* offers a tour of the power structures that Offred, in her confinement, can’t see. Yet its vision of those structures, provocative though it is, flattens both her fiction and our shared reality, doubling down on the original novel’s least compelling arguments while abandoning its most interesting speculations.

The *Testaments* revisits the form of *The Handmaid’s Tale* as well as its setting. Both novels style themselves as primary sources written by women, and both end with a male historian describing those sources from the perspective of a restored liberal democratic order. Whereas Offred’s isolated account describes the early days of Gilead, *The Testaments* offers a rotating cast of three narrators chronicling its end. The first is Gilead’s chief female enforcer, Aunt Lydia, a notorious figure in *The Handmaid’s Tale* who turns out to despise the regime. Approaching the end of her life, she writes her tell-all account in secret. The others are new characters, teenagers speaking from somewhere beyond Gilead’s reach: Agnes, the daughter of a Sons of Jacob commander, and Daisy, who lives in Atwood’s native Canada. Neither has memories of a pre-Gilead world.

We understand immediately that each of these narrators offers an important perspective on Gilead’s decline and fall. Lydia takes us inside its halls of power, describing its structures and ideologies in the ominous (and clichéd) tone of an all-knowing sorceress: “Gilead is a slippery place: accidents happen frequently.” Agnes and Daisy, for their part, are introduced as innocents with radical potential. Agnes is a dutiful child who generally accepts Gilead’s anti-feminist orthodoxy. Of her dad’s off-limits study, she remarks, “What my father was doing in there was said to be very important—the important things that men did, too important for females to meddle with because they had smaller brains that were incapable of thinking large thoughts, according to Aunt Vidala, who taught us Religion.” Even so, she’s prone to asking the right questions, opening up space for a new set of answers. Daisy, meanwhile, grows up in a free society outside the borders of the Christian Repub-

The Testaments

By Margaret Atwood

Nan A. Talese. 432 pp. \$28.95

lic. Hanging around her parents’ second-hand shop, she absorbs the bygone idealism of anti-fascism and has questions of her own about her parents’ secretive behavior.

Soon enough, a bomb explodes, killing Daisy’s parents and setting off a convenient series of plot twists that eventually brings our three malcontents together. Daisy’s parents turn out to have been operatives in the Mayday resistance, supporting the “Underground Femaleroad” that spirits refugees to Canada. Their deaths, the work of Gilead’s Gestapo, the Eyes, send Daisy into hiding. Harbored by Mayday, she learns the truth of her existence: Her parents were not her biological parents, nor is Daisy her real name. She is, in fact, the famous “Baby Nicole,” the child smuggled out of Gilead as an infant, whom TV viewers will recognize as Offred’s daughter.

The assassination of Daisy’s parents has implications for Lydia as well. Though she never explicitly admits it, it’s clear to the reader that she is Mayday’s source in Gilead, preparing a cache of confidential documents that will expose Gilead’s crimes to the world. The only acceptable messenger for these documents—a messenger whom both Gilead and the resistance want to keep alive—is none other than Baby Nicole. With her lines of communication broken, Lydia has to protect herself from suspicion while reworking her plot.

Agnes, meanwhile, has lost her innocence. Shortly after her mother dies, she learns via schoolyard gossip that her real mother was a “slut” who tried to take her to Canada but was arrested and impressed into service as a Handmaid—a giant wink to the reader that she, too, is a daughter of Offred. After she’s molested by the family dentist and betrothed to the aged Commander of the Eyes, Agnes takes the only out that isn’t suicide: She can train as an Aunt, joining Lydia in the inner sanctum at Ardua Hall.

Now our three narrators are poised to meet as the novel moves toward its great act of feminist heroism. A refugee named Jade arrives with missionaries from Canada, and Lydia asks the young Aunt Victoria to oversee her reeducation. But Jade is Daisy in disguise, and Aunt Victoria is Agnes, both newly enlightened with the knowledge they were previously denied. Lydia has reunited the daughters of Offred at last, with an eye toward sending them together on a mission to save the world.

Formal symmetries aside, Atwood’s method in *The Testaments* departs significantly from her approach in *The Handmaid’s Tale*. The original novel is a portrait of confinement, following Offred’s delimited gaze as she sits around waiting to get pregnant: “There’s time to spare. This is one of the things I wasn’t prepared for—the amount of unfilled time, the long parentheses of nothing.” Heroic action is the norm in dystopian fiction, but Atwood consistently defies this expectation. When another Handmaid invites Offred to join the resistance, she is hopeful but demurs. Her passivity calls our attention to the effects of surveillance on the subject and to the insidious endurance of gender roles in our own society. It is also, somewhat surprisingly, an argument for the mind as a space for resistance. “I sit in the chair and think about the word *chair*. It can also mean the leader of a meeting. It can also mean a mode of execution. It is the first syllable in *charity*. It is the French word for flesh. None of these facts has any connection with the others.” Denied action, we’re reduced to thought, yet it’s in thought that we retain our autonomy. This is the Handmaid’s paradox.

The Testaments, by contrast, is all heroic action. This is, in part, because Atwood has widened her purview to three non-Handmaid narrators. But it’s also because she’s grown less interested in speculation. In *The Handmaid’s Tale*, Atwood offered a future spun with liberty from our past. “The deep foundation of the United States,” she argues in her introduction to a 2012 edition, was “not the comparatively recent 18th-century Enlightenment structures of the Republic, with their talk of equality and their separation of Church and State, but the heavy-handed theocracy of 17th-century Puritan New England—with its marked bias against women—which would need only the opportunity of a period of social chaos to reassert itself.” Following this notion, *Handmaid* imagines a modern society governed by strict gender roles, state surveillance, and other historical methods of social control. If there is fun to be had in reading the original, it is in the discovery of this grim alternate world and its bricolage of strange yet familiar mores.

All this *The Testaments* takes for granted. What’s new is so on the nose—Lydia hangs out in the “Forbidden World Literature” section of the library and takes her tea in the Schlafly Café—that nothing competes with the plot for our attention. Whereas *Handmaid* is interested in the minds of Offred

and the women and men who surround her, in *The Testaments* we are presented with one-sided characters. The women of Gilead are either innocent or conniving, and the men are all cartoonish sadists, literal wife killers, and child rapists. The problem goes beyond flat writing. In *The Testaments*, Atwood is no longer speculating about a possible future so much as commenting on what she believes to be an inescapable present, one in which men are simpleton oppressors whom women can either enable or resist. Yes, Atwood seems to be telling us, it *could* happen here; in fact, it's happening under Trump, just as she predicted it would. And without great feats of courage, we will never drive the bastards out.

Over the course of six decades—her first collection of poetry, *Double Persephone*, appeared in 1961 and her first novel, *The Edible Woman*, in 1969—Atwood has made a name for herself as an iconoclastic thinker and writer. She has alternately been embraced by feminists and castigated as anti-feminist, often for the very same gestures. Her novels and stories have sampled from every conceivable genre, from psychological realism (*The Edible Woman*) and folklore (*Bluebeard's Egg*) to the speculative modes of dystopian fiction (*The Handmaid's Tale*), historical fiction (*The Blind Assassin*), and science fiction (the *MaddAddam* trilogy). Yet no matter the genre or cultural moment, Atwood remains interested in the strictures of gender and cultural myths. Skepticism, generally of rigid belief systems and particularly of Christianity, permeates her work, with imprisonment and environmental degradation also appearing as regular themes. Her best novels playfully refuse answers, especially when it comes to the behavior and motivations of “bad” women, like the shape-shifting man-eater in *The Robber Bride* and the alleged murderess in *Alias Grace*. We never get the satisfaction of learning the “truth” about either, having to content ourselves with the inevitability of their lies.

The same might once have been argued about Aunt Lydia. Denied any sympathetic contextualization in *The Handmaid's Tale*, she's a reminder that all patriarchal systems require the willing collaboration of women. But in *The Testaments*, we get her backstory, which disappointingly serves to rehabilitate her. It turns out that Lydia is not a true believer in Gilead's orthodoxy, nor is she anti-feminist. She's just a regular, brilliant coward, determined to get

revenge and recover her honor.

Before the advent of Gilead, Lydia was a professed “mulish underclass child” and “brainy overachiever” who put herself through school to become a women's rights lawyer and family court judge. Recounting the period after the Sons of Jacob took power, she describes how she and her female colleagues were rounded up, thrown into vans, and herded into an old stadium, where they were deprived of toilets, barely fed, and forced to watch group executions by firing squad. After a period of torture, she breaks and joins the all-female team charged with crafting Gilead's sphere for women: “Did I hate the structure we were concocting? On some level, yes: it was a betrayal of everything we'd been taught in our former lives, and of all that we'd achieved. Was I proud of what we managed to accomplish, despite the limitations? Also, on some level, yes. Things are never simple.” She spends much of the new novel installing hidden cameras and microphones, manipulating dimwitted Commanders and Aunts, and offering ironic, wistful commentary in a manner that all but begs the reader to admire her.

Lydia is not the only character to get a revision in *The Testaments*. Offred does, too, via her daughters. Agnes and Daisy both begin life as ordinary, sheltered girls, not unlike their mom in *Handmaid*, but by the end of the novel, they've undertaken a dangerous mission to bring Gilead's criminals to justice. It's almost as though Atwood discovered she prefers the TV series' version of Offred to her own—or thinks her readers do. Either way, the role model has overtaken the pensive prisoner; action has conquered rumination.

The educated woman—the hardworking, “brainy overachiever” confronted with a sexist culture—is Atwood's favorite protagonist. We meet this educated woman first as the newly engaged market researcher in *The Edible Woman*. She appears again, in far more extreme circumstances, to narrate the Gilead novels: Offred, Lydia, Agnes, and Daisy are four variations on the theme. The centering of these perspectives compels us to consider how women who thought they were free (often because of class privilege and their willingness to play by the rules) are themselves vulnerable to the violence of misogyny. Perhaps, the Gilead novels suggest, educated women are even more vulnerable. Having defied gender norms all their lives, they're the women men most want to control.



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Atwood's revised Lydia certainly sees it this way. Brutalized by the Sons of Jacob for daring to advance the cause of women, she corrects her error under the new regime, acting as a flatterer, caregiver, and servant to the powerful male Commanders. It's the perfect setup for an examination of female misogyny (and an earlier Atwood novel might have gone there), but *The Testaments* is more interested in celebrating Lydia's ingenious long con. A woman in power is ultimately good for all women, the novel argues, however reactionary her methods.

Literal readings of Atwood have already given her novels pride of place in the opposition to Trump. “Make Margaret Atwood fiction again!” reads a popular protest sign. “*The Handmaid's Tale* is not an instruction manual!” reads another. These are signs that cry out not for richer fiction but for better instruction manuals, which *The Testaments* is all too eager to provide. Bring an aging leader together with a couple of feisty teens; use the enemy's own logic to expose the truth of their crimes. If only it were so simple. *The Testaments*, in the end, is too much a fantasy to offer us much guidance in the age of Trump and too literal to offer space for solace and speculation. ■



QUITE ALL RIGHT

Tame Impala's serenity rock

by **MARCUS J. MOORE**

If Kevin Parker had slept for a little while longer, he could have died. On November 9, 2018, he was awakened by a frantic message from his manager, Parker told *Rolling Stone* last year. The day before, a wildfire ignited in Southern California's Woolsey Canyon, causing a massive blaze to race through the hillsides, and it was about to reach him in Malibu. At the time, Parker, the singer and producer behind the Australian psychedelic rock project Tame Impala, was renting an oceanfront house, where he was halfway done working on a new album.

Marcus J. Moore is a contributing writer for The Nation and the author of the forthcoming book The Butterfly Effect: How Kendrick Lamar Ignited the Soul of Black America.

November 8 ended normally for Parker: He drifted off after an evening of chilling out, smoking weed, and sketching a few songs on guitar. A drumbeat he made earlier was playing on a loop, like some ambient lullaby. He said he woke up to his manager's message around 10 AM. After quickly researching the fire (and panicking), Parker grabbed his laptop and his favorite bass and got the hell out of Dodge. The rental house burned down. "It might have been a different story if I didn't wake up when I did," he said.

He finished the album, *The Slow Rush*, and it feels shaded by that near-death experience, even if Parker doesn't address it directly. Instead, he centers on the finality of life, unpacking the past with a lucidity

that comes from having almost perished. "A lot of the songs carry this idea of time passing, of seeing your life flash before your eyes, being able to see clearly your life from this point onwards," he told *The New York Times*. The cover art is equally symbolic. We're in an abandoned house whose walls are painted a fiery red. Though the windows offer a glimpse of a cloudy, baby blue sky, a flood of sand has entered the house, extinguishing all life inside. Swap Malibu flames for sand, and it represents Parker's recent reality. Yet he isn't mournful. Rather, he sounds incredibly Zen and reflective, running through distant memories with a shrug and a straight face, singing through pensive and nonchalant timbres. Compared with previous albums, like

2010's *InnerSpeaker* and 2012's *Lonerism*, both of which scanned as 1960s-leaning psych-rock, *The Slow Rush* skews closer to 2015's *Currents* as a festive blend of '70s glam rock, tropical dance, and '80s yacht rock meant to be played at a coastal resort. Throughout the nearly hourlong LP, there's a feeling that Parker has settled into a new state of calm and is taking life as it comes. He's no longer stressing the daily hiccups that can turn good days into bad ones. In his world, the traffic jams aren't so annoying—"Quite all right sitting here," he proclaims on "Instant Destiny"—and making it home safely to meditate is an understated blessing.

Parker's thematic shift isn't totally surprising. Across his three other full-length albums, he has often discussed dramatic endings, like the conclusion of a relationship. On these records, he portrayed himself as the shoe-gazing loner who wallowed through self-doubt by questioning his shortcomings. In certain moments, as on 2015's "Eventually," he openly mourns what happened while shuffling back to the solitude he seems to prefer anyway. On "Let It Happen," the sprawling opening cut of *Currents*, Parker sings of a mythical disaster—possibly a tornado—that would carry off everything not anchored to the ground. In the song's video, actor Michael Instone can't escape death. He clutches his chest and collapses in an airport terminal. Then, on a crashing airplane, he's engulfed in seat belts and unable to flee a certain demise. After a number of failed attempts, he submits to fate and lets the inevitable occur.

The Slow Rush leans into a different kind of surrender; Parker sings of the gradual passage of time and how personal history shapes the present and future. On "One More Year," it sounds as if he's resting on a perch, looking off into the distance. The music around him is fitting: a gusty swirl of bright synthesizers, robotic backing vocals, and bouncy drums made for two-stepping on a beach. "Do you remember we were standing here a year ago?" he asks a presumed friend or romantic partner. Dive deeper into the lyrics, and he could be talking to his wife, Sophie Lawrence Parker, whom he married just over a year before the album's release. "I never wanted any other way to spend our lives / I know we promised we'd be doing this till we die."

Parker's rise to stardom is intriguing, mostly because he's never really had those aspirations. A self-described "sensitive kid"

growing up in Perth, Australia, he got into music in high school and released his first EP as Tame Impala in 2008. He has controlled every aspect of his art since then—writing the lyrics, arranging the songs, and producing the albums—and works with a band only when performing the music onstage. There, Tame Impala swells into a large-scale production with lasers, a confetti cannon, and a light rig. But after years of going it alone, he told *Billboard* that he wants to write pop songs for big acts. "I want to be a Max Martin," Parker said, name-checking the Swedish songwriter who has written and produced for Britney Spears, Taylor Swift, Ariana Grande, Katy Perry, and more. At the helm of Tame Impala, Parker is capable of churning out stadium-size pop songs, and there's no shortage of them on *The Slow Rush*. "It Might Be Time" bumps like an old Hall & Oates track, with cascading drums and undulating synth chords, but in the lyrics, Parker delves into a sad reality for most thirtysomethings: You're not so cool anymore; it's time to leave the nightclub and settle into adulthood.

He has spoken of his parents' divorce and how the subsequent family drama made him recoil from just about everybody. (His father reportedly left his stepmom to get back with his mother, only for them to break up again.) "I liked being on my own, playing video games, exploring on my bike," Parker told *Rolling Stone*. He started smoking weed at 12. In high school he was a self-proclaimed rebel who "did a bit of graffiti" until he started crafting music. That backstory might help explain the album's most textured track, "Posthumous Forgiveness," a shape-shifting confessional seemingly written to his father, who died in 2009 from skin cancer. Here he ponders, "I always thought heroes stay close whenever troubled times arose.... / And while you still have time, you had a chance, but you decided to take all your sorries to the grave." Parker then delves into how the divorce continues to affect him and his brother. "Wanna tell you 'bout my life," he sings. "Wanna play you all my songs. And hear your voice sing along." His father died well before seeing any of this—before Parker's debut LP and his becoming a world-famous rock star. And therein lies the crux of his genius and the beauty of *The Slow Rush*, his most contemplative work: Parker filters the bleakest parts of himself through a thick and vibrant lens. Even as he expels his private demons, he's encouraging us to dance to his pain. ■

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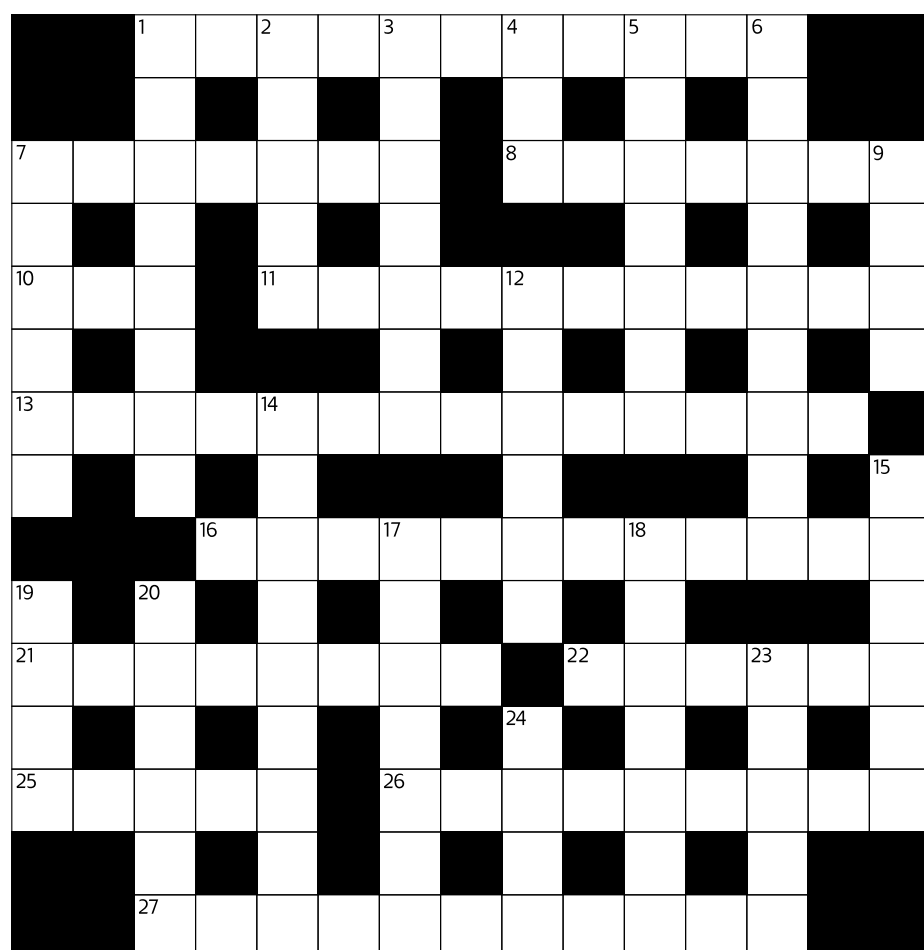
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Puzzle No. 3529

JOSHUA KOSMAN AND HENRI PICCIOTTO



ACROSS

- 1 Eastern yogi, originally in Asian capital, had a meal before beginning to read our message for *Nation* cryptic solvers (3,3,5)
- 7 *Taken* is given a little more than three stars? (7)
- 8 Macho guys, lacking source of French, ultimately stand corrected (7)
- 10 and 4 Joy follows an Oscar-winning movie director (3,3)
- 11 Strangely, Eric showed up first with our message for *Nation* cryptic solvers (11)
- 13 Fade in where Sue garbled our message for *Nation* cryptic solvers (3,11)
- 16 Suffers from endless story introducing rental company with thanks—that's our message for *Nation* cryptic solvers (5,2,5)
- 21 Song about union leader flipping over our message for *Nation* cryptic solvers (2,6)
- 22 Reason backward to capture green chess piece (6)
- 25 Investigating naked bird (5)
- 26 Pagan hero dancing where some children dwell (9)

- 27 Retract cry of alarm and cry of pain when consuming two cups—that's what we hope *Nation* cryptic solvers will do at www.leftfieldcryptics.com (4,2,5)

DOWN

- 1 Disregard short and very loud enclosure for rough treatment (5,3)
- 2 Uplifting illustrations (ten at the start of every addendum) (5)
- 3 Part of Concorde redesigned and laid out systematically (7)
- 4 See 10
- 5 Lever altered (redealt) (7)
- 6 Like a wild horse, or a concise legal contract? (9)
- 7 Climbing mountain, sped up to get flat (6)
- 9 Doctor said, "This is a good place to speak" (4)
- 12 Chopped liver on rye, essentially? Indeed (6)
- 14 Fey, timeless performance around five is early (2,7)
- 15 Old Yankee cloak (6)
- 17 Stumble over oil spill in African city (7)
- 18 Large vehicle and two Ford models connecting two universities in Pacific nation (7)
- 19 Heard fruit, heard fruit, for example (4)
- 20 Journey captured live for man with all the answers? (6)
- 23 Grind D. Crosby's partner (5)
- 24 Notice small vessel (4)

Dear Readers: This is the last *Nation* puzzle. You can continue to get Kosman and Picciotto's cryptic crosswords by going to leftfieldcryptics.com.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3528

ACROSS 1 M(ENO)RAH (rev.) 5 MADE (anag.) + IRA 9 T(EX)AN 10 MEATS (anag.) + PACE 11 "Lou send" 12 "Porsche" 14 D(UK)E 15 REIMAG + I + NED (rev.) 18 pun 19 A(C)ID 22 LU(NA)TE 24 anag. 26 PYGM[y] + A + LION 27 "grim" 28 anag. 29 SPOKE + U + P

DOWN 1 MOT (rev.) + T + LED 2 N(EXT)O + FKIN (anag.) 3 R[e]ENTER 4 HU(MANBEI)NG (*Ambien* anag.) 5 M(O)AT 6 DIS GORGE 7 anag. 8 ABE + LARD 13 [h]AMPER + SANDS 16 N(ECTAR)INE (*trace* anag.) 17 BOOT + CAMP 18 C(ALYPS)O (*plays* anag.) 20 D(USTM)OP[e] (*must* anag.) 21 AD + AG + IO 23 anag. 25 LI + PS

M	E	N	O	R	A	H		M	A	D	E	I	R	A
O	E	E		U		O		I	N	B				
T	E	X	A	N		M	E	A	T	S	P	A	C	E
T	T	T		A	T	G	P	L						
L	O	O	S	E	E	N	D		P	O	R	T	I	A
E	F	R		B	A	R								
D	U	K	E		R	E	I	M	A	G	I	N	E	D
				I	B			I	P	E	E			
C	O	N	F	O	U	N	D	E	D		A	C	I	D
A				O	G	R		A	T	U				
L	U	N	A	T	E		U	S	E	D	C	A	R	S
Y	I		C		L		A		A	R	T			
P	Y	G	M	A	L	I	O	N		G	R	I	M	M
S	H		M		P		D		I	N	O			
O	C	T	O	P	U	S			S	P	O	K	E	U

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